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The Beaver

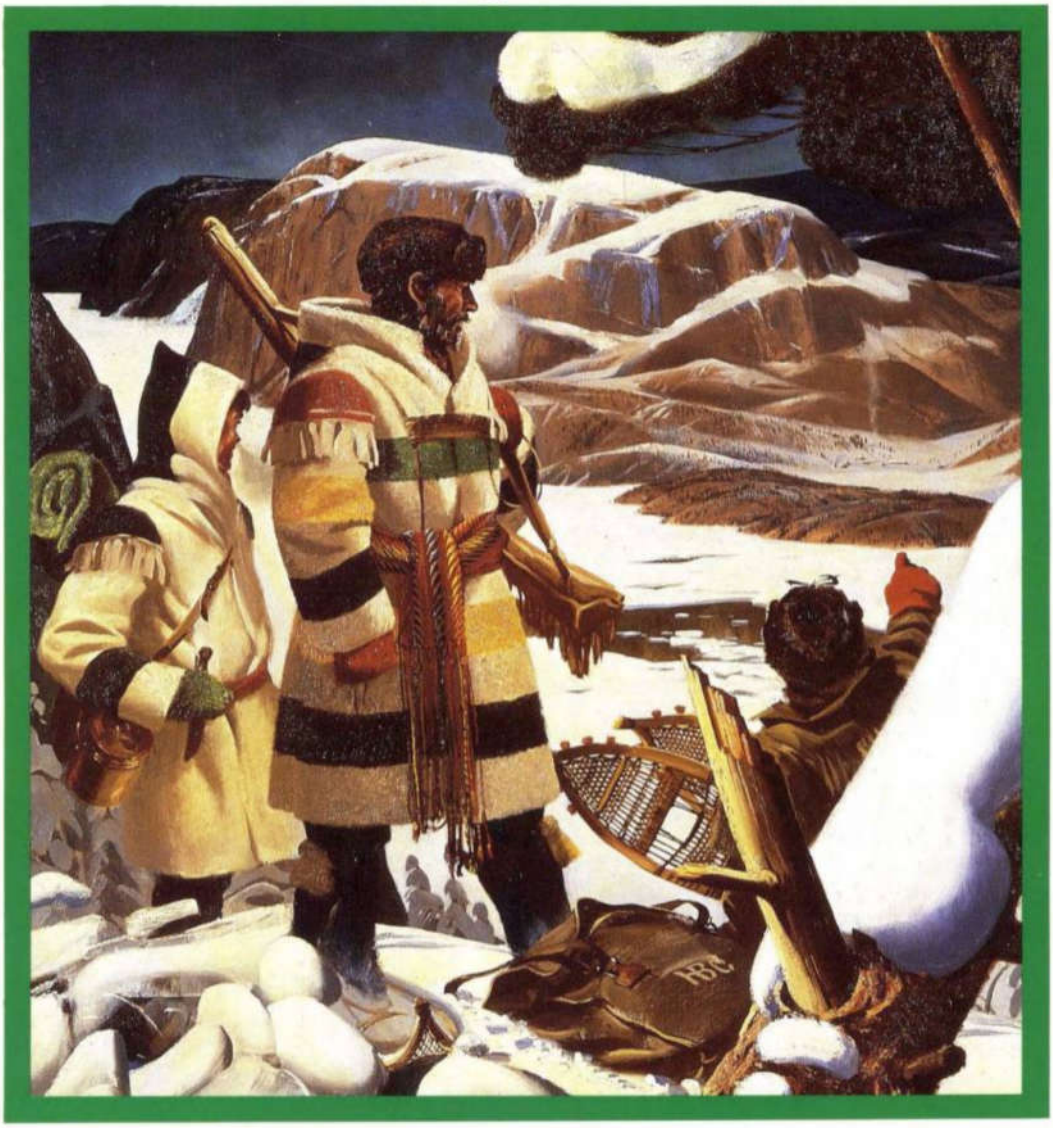
EXPLORING · CANADA'S · HISTORY

Baseball's Canadian Roots

On A Tiger Skin With Elinor Glyn

British Farmers on the Grand Tour

The Beaver for Christmas



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The Beaver

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"Baseball" by George Benjamin Shepherd, from the University of Virginia magazine "Corks & Curls", 1910. *Virginia State Library and Archives.*

Are We All Guilty?

The story of Canada, like the story of any country, contains much that is unpleasant and depressing. The long record is full of instances of hardship, injustice and misery and any study of Canadian history must take the bad with the good — we cannot avert our eyes and pretend that the past was all sunshine and happy days.

History is as you find it and the student of Canadian history is apt to wince over such things as the mistreatment of aboriginals, the expulsion of the Acadians, the horrors endured by Irish immigrants in the 1840s, the tribulations of the Métis, the sufferings of the Selkirk settlers, the attitude of the Canadian government to Jewish refugees in the 1930s, the imprisonment of "enemy aliens" in the two world wars and the persecution of religious minorities at various times and in various places throughout our history.

While most Canadians look back with regret at the mistakes and injustices of the past, opinion is divided on the question of responsibility. Are we to blame for the actions of our ancestors? Must we atone for what was done in the distant past? Are we all guilty?

Many Canadians are of the opinion that citizens who have been unjustly treated by the government deserve, at the best, some form of monetary compensation or, at the very least, an official apology. Many Canadians of Japanese ancestry, for example, lost their property and were interned during the Second World War because of fears on the West Coast that the Japanese community, largely made up of farmers and fishermen, could become a "fifth column" in the event of a Japanese invasion. Most of the internees never recovered their lost property and measures taken by the federal government in recent years represent token compensation at best.

Not surprisingly, other groups are now calling for compensation for past wrongs. During the First World War many Ukrainian immigrants who came from areas under the control of the Austro-Hungarian Empire were interned in camps as "enemy aliens". Few of these internees are still alive in 1994, but, nevertheless, demands have been made that some present-day Canadians of Ukrainian background receive monetary compensation and an apology.

During this summer's great reunion of Acadians

The expulsion of the Acadians.

there were reports in the papers that at least one descendant of the exiles was considering legal action to obtain compensation for the treatment accorded his ancestors by the British Crown.

While many agree that living persons who have been wronged by the state deserve redress, there is less support for the notion that people deserve compensation for something that happened to their ancestors. After all, where would it end? We all have long memories. Would descendants of the United Empire Loyalists launch a group action to obtain compensation from the American government for property lost during the Revolution and an apology for sufferings and persecution at the hands of the American Patriots?

Could descendants of the Selkirk Settlers take action against the present-day North West Company for the harassment of their ancestors and the massacre at Seven Oaks? Could Canadians of Icelandic descent sue East Coast aboriginals for the unfriendly reception given to their Viking kinfolk when they attempted to establish colonies in the eleventh century A.D.?

You could go on and on listing examples of past wrongs that cry out for an apology and, possibly, a significant exchange of cash until Quebec and the other provinces of Canada agree on an amending formula, but each tale of woe would only bring you closer to the ultimate absurdity.

The way to atone for past mistakes is to make certain that they are never repeated. That is one of the reasons we study history — to know the worst that we humans are capable of, as well as the best. The dead do not require compensation or apology and the living can never settle the debt with mere cash or soothing words.

We cannot alter the past and we are not responsible for what happened there. The responsibilities and mistakes of the present are sufficient to keep us busy and appropriately humble.

As members of the human race we can all look back on an often difficult and occasionally painful past. For most of us there is no compensation and no apology. It didn't happen to us. ◆

New Society to Promote Canadian History and Publish 'The Beaver'

On the eve of its 75th anniversary, *The Beaver* begins a new publishing relationship. Founded in 1920 by the Hudson's Bay Company, the magazine was recently acquired by Canada's National History Society, a new organization formed to promote interest in and knowledge of Canadian history. Subscribers to *The Beaver* will now automatically become members of Canada's National History Society, with full membership privileges.

The new Society, supported, in part, by the recently formed Hudson's Bay History Foundation, is in the process of developing a program of membership benefits to be announced soon.

Rolph Huband of Toronto, who has had a long association with *The Beaver* as the magazine's publisher, is President of Canada's National History Society and continues as *Beaver* publisher.

The Society's Board of Directors includes Joseph E. Martin, a senior partner of Deloitte & Touche, Toronto; Michael Bliss, Professor of History, University of Toronto; Joseph A. Ghiz, Dean of the Law Faculty, Dalhousie University, Halifax; Paul-André Linteau, Professor of History, University of Quebec, Montreal; Tina Loo, Associate Professor of History, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia; Desmond Morton, Director, Institute for the Study of Canada, McGill University, Montreal; Shirlee A. Smith, historical consultant and former Keeper, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg; and William Nobleman, a magazine publishing consultant, of Toronto.

Laird Rankin is General Manager and Secretary of the Society, responsible for non-magazine activities. Christopher Dafoe is a Society vice-president and Editor of *The Beaver.* Carol Preston continues as Managing Editor of *The Beaver.*

The editorial and subscription offices of *The Beaver* and the office of the Society's general manager will be located in Winnipeg. ◆

A Habsburg Prelate in the New World

BARAGA

By Graham A. MacDonald

North American readers interested in the role played by the Church in the settlement of the continent are accustomed to thinking in terms of the struggles of the Roman Catholic orders of New France, of Spanish Catholics in the south and west, of Pilgrims in New England, of the Church of England and its related Church Missionary Society, of Presbyterians, and of Methodist circuit riders. Only after 1870, it is supposed, was it true that other faiths from Central, Northern and Eastern Europe started to influence the social fabric of the New World. This may be a fair view of the larger scene, but it ignores the remarkable complexity of religious persuasions which, very early, informed the outlooks of some of those groups which started to cluster on the eastern shores of America after 1620. Consider the following description of the ambitions of Peter Stuyvesant, Governor of New Netherland, in 1647:

> Against all good sense he also tried to impose religion, believing that his Reformed church had the truth and should own a monopoly on religion and good order in the settlement. Stuyvesant thought it good company policy to exclude competing kinds of worship, but this was futile in the face of the variety that already existed: there were Calvinists, Catholics, "English" Puritans, Lutherans, and some Mennonite Anabaptists in New Amsterdam — and more unexpected arrivals were on the way.

This was in just one section of the rapidly developing eastern seaboard colonies. With the gradual consolidation of much of North America under English-speaking powers over the next century and a half it did, nevertheless appear that the great forces of religious influence were those associated with English Protestantism. Certain strong centres of Catholic influence did, of course, persist in older settled regions such as Quebec, Louisiana, and the Spanish southwest. It would be wrong to think however, that the other traditions disappeared or did not continue to prosper. German and Scandinavian Lutheranism and Anabaptist traditions retained a steady place in the history of American religion and in time, came to play important roles in settlement north of the 49th parallel, particularly in southwestern Ontario after the American Revolution and on the prairies after 1870.

One area of relative obscurity concerns the role played by Central and East Europeans in the New World. While not known for his religious outlook, probably the most famous figure from this region to influence events in the northern half of the continent was Prince Rupert of the Rhine, a native of Bohemia, a cousin of King Charles II of England, and one of the main founders of the Hudson's Bay Company. Baptized in the great Cathedral of St. Vitus at Prague in 1620, young Rupert was then taken by his hastily retreating father, the Protestant "Winter King" Frederick V, to safer territory outside the traditionally Catholic heartland of the Habsburg Empire. The Thirty Year War had started, and young Rupert was thereafter raised elsewhere and went on to serve at the north German, Dutch, French, and English courts.

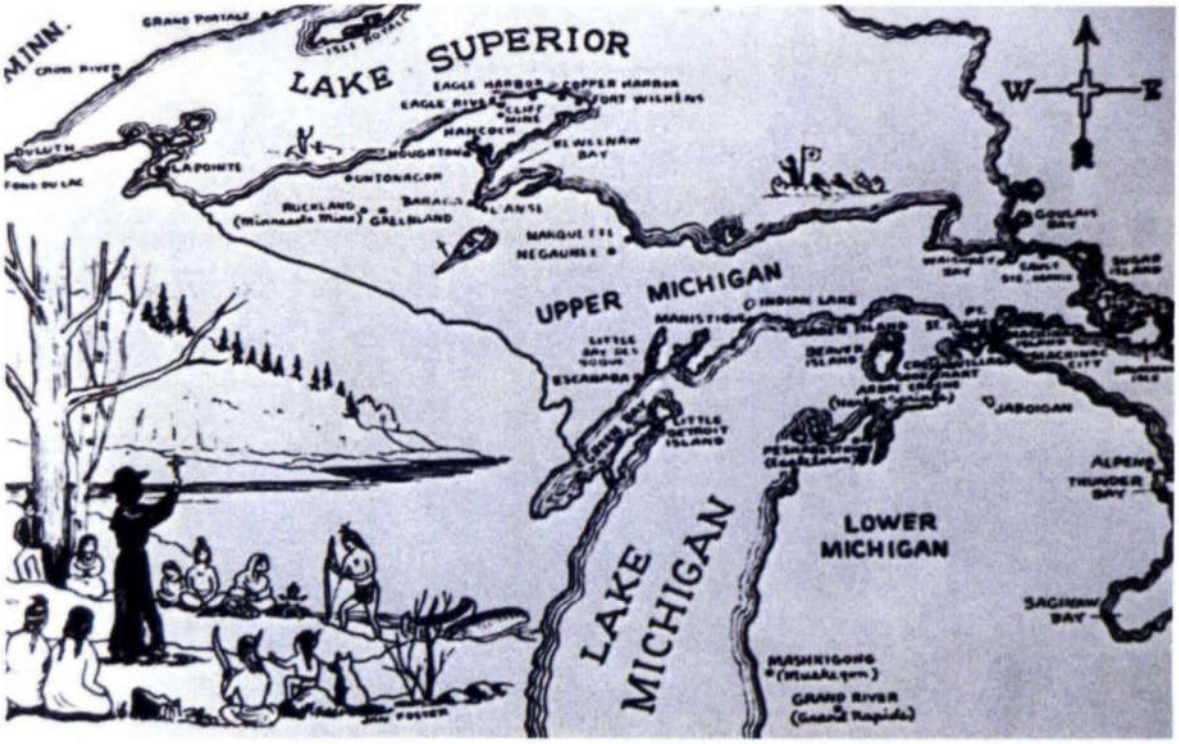
Until the end of the hostilities associated with the Napoleonic Wars, the Habsburg monarchy and its peoples had little reason to show much interest in North America. Long-standing domestic concerns and conflicts with the several empires surrounding that ancient institution were quite sufficient preoccupations. German influence in North America to that time had been quite rigorously "northern" and "Protestant" exercised through the Hanover line of English monarchs, the Lutheran Church and the ultra-Protestant Anabaptist traditions. The treaty signed at Versailles in 1815 provided a welcome diplomatic relief from the revolutionary upheavals in America and Europe which had commenced in 1776. It ushered in one of the great periods of relative peace in Europe and America. European governments and peoples, of whatever stripe, became outward looking in a particularly conservative way. The chaos of republican and Napoleonic Europe urged upon many the notion that there had been a serious breakdown in public morality, a void which could only be filled by the Church.

Wisconsin Magazine of History

La Pointe on the south shore of Lake Superior, where Baraga was sent in 1835.

In 1815 a young man from the Parish of Dobrinic in the Slovenian Province of Carniola, was just coming to maturity. Irenius Frederic Baraga was born in 1797 at Mala Vas Castle, one of the three surviving children of John Nepomucene Baraga and Katherine Jencic Baraga. The father was a civil servant and proprietor of modest family farmland. The domestic circumstances, if not those of wealth, were such at least as to afford an education for their children. Baraga's mother died in 1808 and his father in 1812. Even before his mother's death, he had been sent to the home of his uncle, Ignatius Baraga, where he was educated with private tutors until 1809. He then moved to Ljubljana where he lived with an uncle on his mother's side, Barnard Jencic, and took classes for another seven years. These were years when the French imperial influence was still all-pervasive, and by the time Baraga had finished his studies, his knowledge of languages was wide. Slovenia provided a geographic advantage for the study of languages, being at a confluence of Romance, Germanic and Slavic linguistic traditions. To these essential language groups, Baraga could add Latin and Greek, all of which would serve him well in his future life's work. His uncle however, fell into disfavour with the French authorities, and young Frederic had to endure two years of poverty before coming to the notice of George Dolinar, a Professor of Canon Law and Church History in Vienna, who took the young university student into his home. Baraga took degrees in Civil and Canon Law, and had the best intentions of marrying the good professor's daughter, Anna; but events intervened.

While at the University of Vienna he came under the influence of the Redemptorist, Clement Mary Hofbauer, the head of a congregation which aspired to lead the simple Christian life and to spread the gospel to the poorest and most neglected of the world. The "Redemptorists", as a group, traced their origins to the work of the Neapolitan, St. Alphonsus Liguori (1696-1787) who in 1732 inspired a group of Christians in the Scala region to undertake rural pastoral service. Liguori was elevated to Bishop of Saint Agata dei Goti in 1762, and it has been said of St. Alphonsus that he "never preached a sermon which the simplest old woman in the congregation could not understand." Hofbauer (1751-1820) was a Moravian, (born Jan Dvorak) who took up the Redemptorist cause at age 34. He spent twenty years in Poland, pioneering the organization's work north of the Alps, until he was forced to return to Vienna following Napoleon's dispersal of the religious orders in Poland. Back in Vienna, he worked hard to curb the power of the state over Church matters, and inspired a large following. This "Apostle of Vienna" became the main influence on the young Frederic Baraga.



Map from "The Diary of Bishop Baraga", published by Wayne State University Press. The map, drawn by Janet Foster, shows Great Lakes missions served by Baraga from 1831 to 1868.

By 1821 Baraga had broken his engagement and entered Ljubljana Seminary. In 1823 he was ordained, following which he spent four years as the Curate of Smartno near Kranj, and then three years at Metlinka. Baraga's reputation as a "confessor" became widespread, while his simplicity of manner attracted great numbers to his church. Baraga and the Redemptorists looked back for much of their inspiration to the pietists of the fifteenth century. They appear to have looked back specifically to Thomas á Kempis (1380-1471), the foremost representative of that pietist tradition known as the "Devotio Moderna". Reared in the Windesheim Congregation tradition (which had spread from Deventer, Holland after 1386), Thomas á Kempis achieved a lasting and ever-renewing readership through his *Imitation of Christ.* The main feature of Windesheim piety was its almost total disregard for dogma or systematic theology. Centuries later Frederic Baraga, clearly in sympathy with such a point of view, also published an influential and popular guide for the perplexed. His *Dushna Pasha (Pasture for Souls)* was published in Slovenian in 1830 and still remains in print. Baraga's recourse to simple instructional texts in the vernacular provides a hint of his future work aimed at bringing Christianity to North American Indians in native tongues rather than through a long-term program of residential education in European languages.

The publication of *Dushna Pasha* coincided in time with the arrival in Europe of Father Frederic Rese, Vicar General of the Diocese of Cincinnati. Rese arrived in Vienna in 1828 seeking to build support for extension mission work in the old northwest. The vicar gained an audience with the Habsburg Emperor, Francis I, during which he advanced his ideas for the

formal establishment of mission societies within the Empire. Permission was so granted and by 1829 the *Leopoldinen Stiftung* (Leopolding Society) had been founded in Vienna, patterned on the Society for the Propagation of the Faith established in Lyons in 1822. The name "Leopold" was selected to honour both St. Leopold, a medieval Austrian Margrave, and also the Emperor's daughter, Leopoldina, Empress of Brazil, who had died in 1826. Rese was successful in gaining permission for a second organization, the Ludwig Mission Central in Bavaria.

The publicity surrounding the formation of the mission societies generated a new zeal in Baraga and he requested permission to apply to Bishop Edward Fenwick of Cincinnati with a view to entering the mission field of the Northwest. Permission was granted and in early 1831 Baraga sailed to America and presented himself for service in Cincinatti. After several intense months of tutoring in Algonkian languages at the hands of two aboriginal adherents to the church, William Makatebinessi and Augustin Hamlin, Baraga was then sent to Arbre Croche, in the northern Michigan field, in May 1831. Regis Walling tells us that there, "Baraga continued his study of the language, writing the first of his many Indian-language books in 1832." At this time his main goal was to learn Algonkian tongues and to make teaching and prayer aids available to the aboriginal peoples. In particular, he tried to "use the Indian language for every service he could, especially the vespers." Later, as bishop, "he insisted that his missionaries do the same." He took the view that "Indian education had to begin in the native tongue," with the result that "many Indians achieve literacy first in Ottawa or Chippewa." Those so taught had a great advantage, "when it came to learning English, which the government insisted should be taught." An early example of his pastoral writing in the Native language was his *Abinodjiiag omasinaiganiwan (Children's Reading Book)* published in 1837.

Baraga spent over two years at Arbre Croche, before being reassigned temporarily to Grand River (Grand Rapids), where many of the Ottawa tribe wintered. He was sent briefly to Cottreville (Marine City) and then in 1835 to La Pointe on the south shore of Lake Superior. The poverty of his resources at La Pointe caused him to journey to Europe in 1837 to raise funds and to arrange for publication of several works he had completed. The books included his *History, Character, Customs and Manners of the North American Indians,* published simultaneously in a German edition in Ljubljana and a French edition in Paris. The next sixteen years he spent in the upper Penninsula of Michigan establishing missions at La Pointe and at L'Anse, and carrying the faith to other points such as Fond du Lac (Duluth), Grand Portage, and Fort William on the British side. A man of great energy, he became known as the "Snowshoe Priest" and knowledge of his work sometimes preceded him. This was the case with one Pierre Cotte, a Métis of Fond du Lac who had obtained a copy of Baraga's first *Indian Prayer Book,* and used it in his work among the Indians of that quarter before Baraga himself had ever journeyed to that region.

Portrait of Bishop Baraga, photographed at Goulais Bay by the author.

The standard estimates of Baraga usually reveal a great respect for his energy and capacity for work; and while his image projects a simple piety which was all-pervasive, he was also marked by that capacity for scholarship for which the Jesuit Order is famous. The years between 1832 and 1852 were those in which his greatest contribution to letters and Native heritage was made, mainly through his preparation of the *Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language* (1853) and the *Theoretical Grammar of the Otchipwe Language* (1850). Both have remained as standard texts ever since. One of Baraga's biographers, James K. Jamison, has recounted the near-disastrous fate of the *Dictionary* manuscript during a winter passage across Green Bay in early 1853 while en route to Cincinatti. The horse-drawn sleigh suddenly plunged through the ice, soaking Baraga and his companions. The horses scrambled

St. Mary's church and rectory, Sault Ste. Marie, 1853. From "The Diary of Bishop Baraga".

onto the ice again, and no casualties were sustained. After reaching shore and finding accommodation, "with many a laughing comment his companions watched the priest separate his large manuscript, sheet by sheet, so that it would dry."

There were other tasks now awaiting Baraga. For some time he had been receiving information that the Church was considering him for a new role, that of a bishop. Baraga had much to recommend him, including an astute political sense. In his *Diary,* one gains an appreciation for some of his favourite aphorisms and guiding principles of personal conduct. In the entry for 11 July 1852 for example, he underlines the statement: "Say and write nothing that can be of any possible use to anybody against you" a statement which, in various forms, had informed his outlook since at least 1818. Somewhat similar was another favoured aphorism, "Whatever you do, do prudently." These are recommendations more appropriate to Marcus Aurelius than to Thomas á Kempis, and they reveal a side of Baraga not stressed by his biographers. These are the insights of a man who understood something of power, and his selection as bishop of the new Vicarate of Upper Michigan in July of 1853, suggests that his superiors were not blind to his many talents. Baraga's use of power was usually exercised on behalf of the aboriginals. In the 1840s while still at L'Anse, he had made common cause with a Methodist preacher, Johann Pitezel, to safeguard the local people against the mounting policy of removal to territories further west. By purchasing lands for the mission, and then deeding the lands to the Indians, some of them were able to escape the removal process. This early collaboration of ethics with title-in-fee-simple, led eventually to the establishment of the Keweenaw Reserve.

Following his confirmation as bishop on 1 November 1853, Baraga relocated to Sault Ste. Marie since this was the community now identified as the See City. Mid-nineteenth-century Sault Ste. Marie had become a bustling place, for the first efforts to straddle the rapids with a canal were then being made in response to the mounting demands for the metal and lumber resources of northern Michigan. For the next ten years, Baraga maintained a frantic schedule of travel as he sought to organize and develop his large vicarate which stretched from the Lake Nipissing area in northern Ontario to the lands west of Lake Superior. It was only slightly before this time that Baraga began to maintain a regular diary, and from it much can be learned of his routine and of developments around Lake Superior. In moving to Sault Ste. Marie, Baraga was of course, moving into old church territory from the standpoint of the Roman Catholic orders. Jesuits and others had frequented the area since at least 1640, and if their influence had been contested by the representatives of other Churches since the collapse of the Sault Mission in 1689, and the fall of New France in 1759, their influence had still never totally vanished.

Some of Baraga's contemporaries were active at the Sault during the 1830s. Father Francis Pierz had established a church by 1837 and in the 1840s Father M.S.V. Hanipaux conducted mission work in the surrounding area, including at the 'Baie de Goulee' on the eastern shore of Lake Superior. Another priest arrived in 1847, August Kohler, and it was through his efforts that a sustained attempt was made to build a mission at Goulais Bay, some twenty-two miles north of the Sault. Kohler made a census report of the aboriginals along the eastern shore in 1851, and from this report and from surviving baptismal records one learns that a portion of the local population had relocated to the eastern shore from the American side in the 1840s, probably in response to those same pressures to "remove" which had led Baraga and Pitezel to undertake land settlements on behalf of their aboriginal charges on the south shore. After Father Kohler started to frequent the eastern shore of Lake Superior, he made efforts to provide a church at Goulais Bay in the years between 1848 and 1858. His resources were too few however, and his administrative territory too large, to allow for this. Only after the

Goulais Mission, 1973, photographed by the author.

arrival of Baraga at the Sault and the enhanced nature of that settlement as a religious centre was some progress made.

From the diary, we know that between 1862 and 1863 Baraga made at least three visits to Goulais Bay in connection with the establishment and opening of a mission church, which has come to be known as Our Lady of Dolours, or St. Mary's. In early 1862, Baraga also attempted to establish a new Mission at St. Martin's Bay on the south shore, and upon returning to the Sault, he recorded:

> Hardly had I returned from that mission when I prepared to go to another which already has been visited by the Jesuits as long as they were here. It is only a day's journey distant from here. On the appointed day I got up early in the morning and confidently set out on the journey. I again was afraid of my pressure on the chest, however — thanks be to God! — I walked all day easily and rapidly over the hills and valleys. The Indians were surprised when they saw me coming and were glad. I remained with them many days, said holy mass for them daily and instructed them. At this opportunity many of them also made their first holy communion. But they were especially glad when I promised them that in the spring I would have a small church built for them, so that when I come here I will no longer say holy mass and announce the word of God in a poor hut, but instead, in a nicely decorated church.

On 26 February 1862 his diary records the events of the last day before his return to Sault Ste. Marie: "At the mass there were 4 first communions. After the mass at about 8, I left and towards 2 p.m. arrived at the Hudson's Bay Co house, and at 2:45 came home."

Baraga then put things in motion for the construction of the mission. For the work he retained two good carpenters at the Sault, Fabien Landreville and James Prior, and on 2 June, Baraga accompanied them back to Goulais to commence construction. Writing in 1972, Father Paul Prud'homme who served as the Mission Priest at Goulais in the 1930s stated:

> The location chosen for the church, still standing at the same place ... though slightly widened in 1926, is a sandy knoll about 250 yards from the Lake Shore.

With foundations and frame well in place, Baraga departed back to the Sault leaving his carpenters to

work with the local tribesmen on the church over the summer. In September the bishop sailed back to Goulais in order to help put the finishing touches on the church. The diary records that he "Worked busily on the church; set up all the pews, made the altar (communion) rail, Stations of the Cross and everything." On 28 September, on the Feast Day of the Seven Dolours of the Blessed Virgin, he gave the first mass in the new church.

We know that Baraga spent much of his spare time in carpentry, not only on the main structural details of his churches but also on furnishings for the interiors. The diary for 20 October 1862 records that he "made a large cross for St. Mary's, Goulais Bay." George Agawa, Choirmaster at St. Mary's for over forty years, believed the cross which was in the church in 1972 to be the one made by Baraga. Father Prud'homme noted that he had seen similar crosses in all of the missions he had visited established by Baraga in Ontario and Michigan. "The corpus is made of carved wood and most likely imported from Austria or Slovenia. The cross Baraga made himself of ordinary wood, painted black." During the 1930s at St. Mary's it was still customary to use this cross to lead various processions. Other improvements were made by the bishop at Goulais. In a report for 1862, Father Kohler mentioned that Baraga had provided the church with vestments and a house for a missionary. Eventually this one-room log house was moved behind the church and joined to it.

The interest in establishing a permanent mission at Goulais Bay in the 1850s and early 1860s undoubtedly reflected events on the south shore of Lake Superior around L'Anse and La Pointe where the threat of removal had increased with the influx of interests seeking to develop mineral and lumber resources. Some of those who felt compelled to leave decided to locate in British territory on the east coast of Lake Superior. Adjustments to a new landscape may have taken some time for some. On his last recorded visit to Goulais in May of 1863, Baraga undertook a number of communions and gave the mass, but on this occasion he records that "There were no men in the church, all are out hunting." Such an observation provides an opportunity to ask just what was the substance of Indian conversion, and how can it be related to traditional Native religious practices?

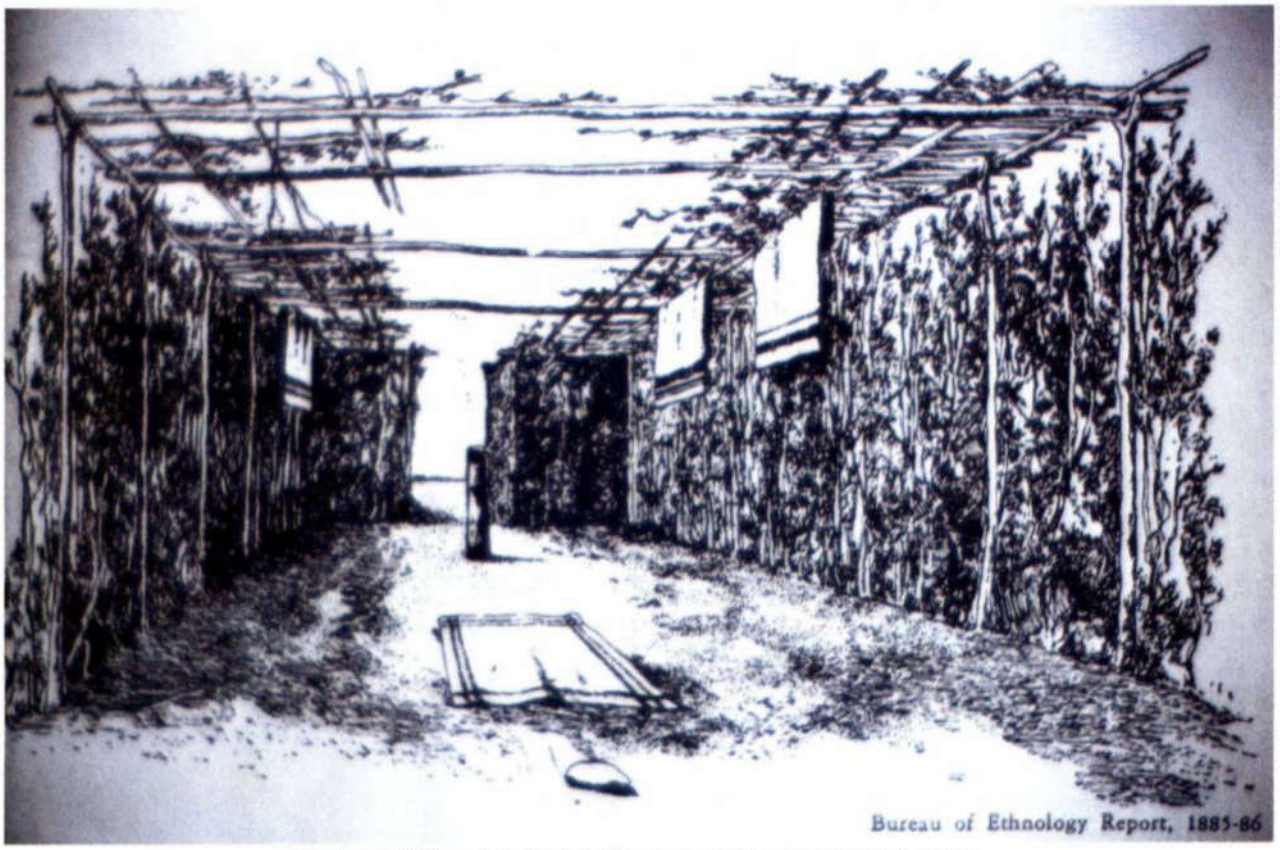
One of the remarkable coincidences associated with Baraga's work in Northern Michigan, concerns his establishment of missions in the very heart of that territory most closely connected with the refinement of the Ojibwa "Midewiwin" rituals or "Grand Medicine Society" as some have called it. Much debate has taken place concerning the nature and origins of this cult or movement, but most now agree that it developed after 1600. Some students of the Midewiwin have felt that

Wisconsin Magazine of History

Benjamin Armstrong: adopted by the Ojibwa.

Chequamegon Bay, near La Pointe, was the real cradle of the institution. Baraga's *Dictionary* and his rarely seen *History, Customs and Manners* of 1837, suggest that he was well aware of the Midewiwin, and other ceremonials associated with aboriginal spirituality. His writings also reveal the typical Jesuit style of recording information about such matters without necessarily approving of them. As was general elsewhere in nineteenth-century North America, competition between Protestant and Catholic for converts was strong in northern Michigan, even if Baraga and the Methodist Pitezel co-operated on occasion in the interests of the Indians. Baraga transferred from Grand Rapids to La Pointe in 1835 where the Protestants were "deluding the poor Indians of that place into damnable errors." Baraga was clearly a churchman first and certainly not an anthropologist. On the other hand, his interest was sufficient that he could prepare the lengthy manuscript on the *History, Customs and Manners* for the benefit of interested European readers.

One of the few English-speakers among Baraga's contemporaries who had some inkling about the views expressed in his book *History, Customs and Manners,* was a man equally well-connected to the Ojibwa of



Bureau of Ethnology Report, 1885-86

Interior of a Midewiwin Lodge, Lake Superior south shore, late nineteenth century.

northern Michigan, one Benjamin G. Armstrong (1820-1900). Born in Alabama, Armstrong was sent north to Wisconsin Territory for his health as a young man. There, life suited him and he became increasingly absorbed by the aboriginal way of life. In time he married Charlotte, a niece of one of the most powerful Ojibwa chiefs of the La Pointe area, Buffalo, (Kechewaishke, d. 1855) and later was adopted by Buffalo as a son. In his *Memoirs,* prepared in 1891, Armstrong claimed to have been initiated into the Midewiwin Society, and that further, he was the only European ever to have been so honoured. Armstrong knew Baraga well, and had a high regard for him as a churchman of high ethical principles, but he appears to have had disagreements with him with respect to the bishop's views on aboriginal religion. The two men debated such issues from time to time, although Armstrong claims to have revealed to Baraga little information about his own sources, which he considered a matter of secrecy within the order. Armstrong stated:

> Father Baraga was probably the best posted man in the Chippewa language who ever attempted to explain it and write up their customs and religious beliefs, but he fell into error. I had frequent talks with him about his works and he explained them to me as he understood them and gave the greater part of his information. I did not tell him the source of my information and never attempted to disabuse his mind of the error. The facts are that the source from which my information was derived was the head of the Chippewa church while his was obtained from the foot of it.

It is an interesting observation made by one who had his own insights into Ojibwa language and circumstances. Armstrong came to act as an interpreter for his adopted people, and twice led delegations to Washington to place grievances before Presidents Fillmore and Lincoln with respect to the treaties being imposed on the Indians of the upper peninsula.

Bishop Baraga died in 1868 in the aftermath of a stroke. The fleeting glimpse which he provides of his last visit to Goulais Bay five years earlier when during mass the men were "all out hunting" gives cause to wonder if the forces of the Midewiwin were strongly co-existing with the forces of Christianity, despite outward architectural appearances. ◆

Graham A. MacDonald is an historian with the Canadian Parks Service in Calgary, Alberta.

Baseball's Canadian Roots

ABNER WHO?

By Mark Kearney

When the Toronto Blue Jays won the World Series, there was widespread media coverage as Canadians cheered from coast to coast and much was made of "America's game" being taken over by an upstart team from Canada.

But what few fans may have realized is that the first recorded game of baseball also took place in Canada, a year before Abner Doubleday supposedly "invented" the game in Cooperstown, New York.

The small town of Beachville, Ontario, about 40 kilometres east of London, proudly boasts of itself as the home of baseball in Canada. And for good reason. It was here on 4 June 1838 that a game of baseball, or at least a form of the game as we now know it, took place in front of spectators.

The basis of this claim lies with a lengthy letter published 5 May 1886 in the Philadelphia-based *Sporting Life* magazine. The letter, entitled "A Game of Long-ago Which Closely Resembled Our Present National Game," was written by Dr. Adam Ford of Denver, Colorado, who had grown up in Beachville. Part of the letter was also printed in the Ingersoll, Ontario, *Chronicle*.

In the letter, he refers to the game played in Oxford County on Militia Muster Day, 4 June, 1838. According to Ford, the game "was played in a nice, smooth pasture field just back of Enoch Burdick's shops." Today, that field has been largely built over with houses and is near the present Beachville Baptist church.

What sets Ford's letter apart from other reminiscences of early ball games are the details on the date, the way the game was played, and the names of players who participated. Most historians agree that baseball flourished before 1840, but there seems to be little evidence on specific dates and places.

Although Ford's original letter is in the Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, New York, officials there have never formally recognized the validity of his claim for Beachville. What seems clear to historians, however, is that the idea of Abner Doubleday suddenly inventing the game in Cooperstown in 1839 is pure bunk.

Harold Peterson, in his 1969 book *The Man Who Invented Baseball* (which is about Alexander Cartwright, the father of modern baseball), says the Doubleday myth was created because Albert G. Spalding, founder of the sporting goods company, hated the idea of any part of the sport having origins outside the United States. Baseball is often thought of as deriving from the English game of rounders. Spalding had his friend Abraham Mills head a commission to look into this, and in 1907 Mills issued a report that baseball was uniquely American and that Doubleday invented it.

But Peterson says there is no evidence Doubleday played or even saw the game. The myth was based on the memory of an old man, Abner Graves, who said he recalled Doubleday improving the game of townball, a precursor to baseball. But Doubleday was a West Point cadet in 1839 during a time when the military academy never granted holidays to soldiers and so could not have been in Cooperstown when legend says he was. Laying the myth to rest, Peterson concludes that "Abner Doubleday didn't invent baseball. Baseball invented Abner Doubleday."

Peterson, however, makes no mention of the Beachville game or Ford's letter. That leaves the question of whether anyone "invented" the game and the role Beachville plays in its history.

Two researchers from the University of Western Ontario examined the validity of Ford's reminiscence in a 1988 article for the *Journal of Sport History*. Nancy Bouchier and Robert Barney wrote in "A Critical Examination of a Source on Early Ontario Baseball: The Reminiscence of Adam E. Ford," that they have no doubt about its validity. "The question remains: How credible is Adam Ford's letter relative to the early history of baseball? A thorough investigation of Ford him-

Part of Dr. Ford's 1886 letter to "Sporting Life". In 1838 Queen Victoria had been on the throne for one year.

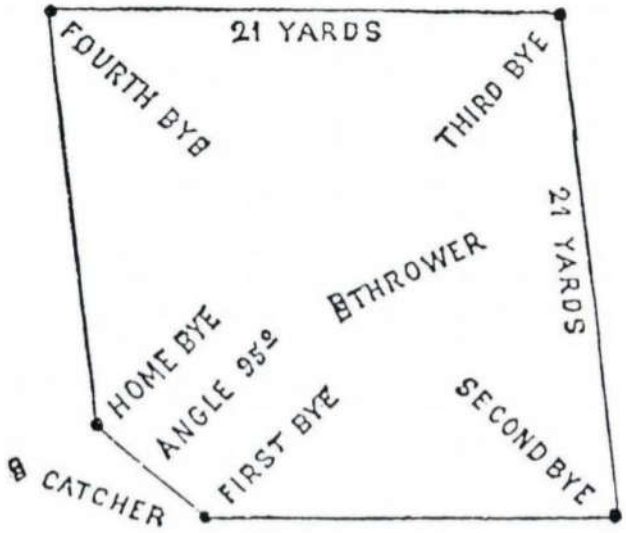
VERY LIKE BASE BALL.

A Game of the Long-ago Which Closely Resembled Our Present National Game.

DENVER, Col., April 26.—Editor SPORTING LIFE—The 4th of June, 1838, was a holiday in Canada, for the Rebellion of 1837 had been closed by the victory of the Government over the rebels, and the birthday of His Majesty George the Fourth was set apart for general rejoicing. The chief event at the village of Beechville, in the county of Oxford, was a base ball match between the Beechville Club and the Zorras, a club hailing from the townships of Zorra and North Oxford.

The game was played in a nice, smooth pasture field just back of Enoch Burdick's shops. I well remember a company of Scotch volunteers from Zorra halting as they passed the grounds to take a look at the game. Of the Beechville team I remember seeing Geo. Burdick, Reuben Martin, Adam Karn, Wm. Hutchinson, I. Van Alstine, and, I think, Peter Karn and some others. I remember also that there were in the Zorras "Old Ned" Dolson, Nathaniel McNames, Abel and John Williams, Harry and Daniel Karn and, I think, Wm. Ford and William Dodge. Were it not for taking up too much of your valuable space I could give you the names of many others who were there and incidents to confirm the accuracy of the day and the game. The ball was made of double and twisted woolen yarn, a little smaller than the regulation ball of to day and covered with good, honest calf skin, sewed with waxed ends by Edward McNamee, a shoemaker.

The infield was a square, the base lines of which were twenty-one yards long, on which were placed five bags



The baseball "diamond" of 1838 as described by Dr. Ford.

self, his sport involvement and the context of his times all suggest that his reminiscence is valuable."

There is controversy about Ford himself, including possible involvement in a murder, that may account for why it took so long for some baseball historians to accept his observations, but more on that later. The authors based their favourable conclusion on several points. Although Ford was only about seven or eight years old at the time of the game, sport was a common pastime on such holidays.

In later life, Ford was apparently known for having a good memory, and thus his description of the game was credible. As an adult while living in the nearby town of St. Mary's where he had set up his medical practice, Ford was active in sports, organizing baseball teams and games for several years.

In the letter, Ford also described a detachment of Scottish volunteers from nearby Zorra, likely the 3rd Oxford Regiment under the command of Colonel J. Barwick. There would have been a strong military presence in the area because it was only one year after the Upper Canada Rebellion of 1837 and there was still fear of rebel uprising in what is now the southwestern Ontario area.

Ford also mentions the following players who took part in the game: Adam, Peter, Harry and Daniel Karn, William Dodge, Reuben Martin, Nathaniel McNamee, George Burdick, William Ford (Adam's brother), "Old Ned" Dolson, I. Van Alstine, William Hutchinson and Abel and John Williams. Research of county records and tombstones in the area indicate most of these players would have been boys and men 15 to 24 at the time of the game, again making his recollections believable, say the researchers.

In providing details of how the game was played, Ford has given historians a look at how baseball evolved, especially in Ontario. Other people in North America reminisced about playing the game in their youth in the early 1800s, but provided few, if any, details beyond that.

There is evidence to suggest variations of baseball were played as long ago as the colonial period in the United States. And given the thousands of United Empire Loyalists who emigrated to Canada during and after the Revolution, it is likely some brought a form of baseball with them.

In addition to its rounders connections, baseball's variations included such games as one old cat, two old cat, and townball. Rules were often based on oral tradition, with older players describing to younger ones how they played the game. Each match was unorganized and differed in some way from previous games and stayed that way for the most part until the American Civil War. Research indicates the game received little attention from the public prior to the 1840s.

Peterson's book furnishes several earlier references to variations on baseball. He mentions *The Book of Sports* by Robin Carver published in 1834 that describes the rules of Base or Goal ball. In addition several prominent figures of the time, including Oliver Wendell Holmes, talked about playing the game in their younger days in the 1820s or earlier. In Jane Austen's novel *Northanger Abbey,* written in the late 1790s, she writes of a character: "and it was not very wonderful that Catherine should prefer cricket, base-ball, riding on horseback, and running about the country at the age of fourteen, to books."

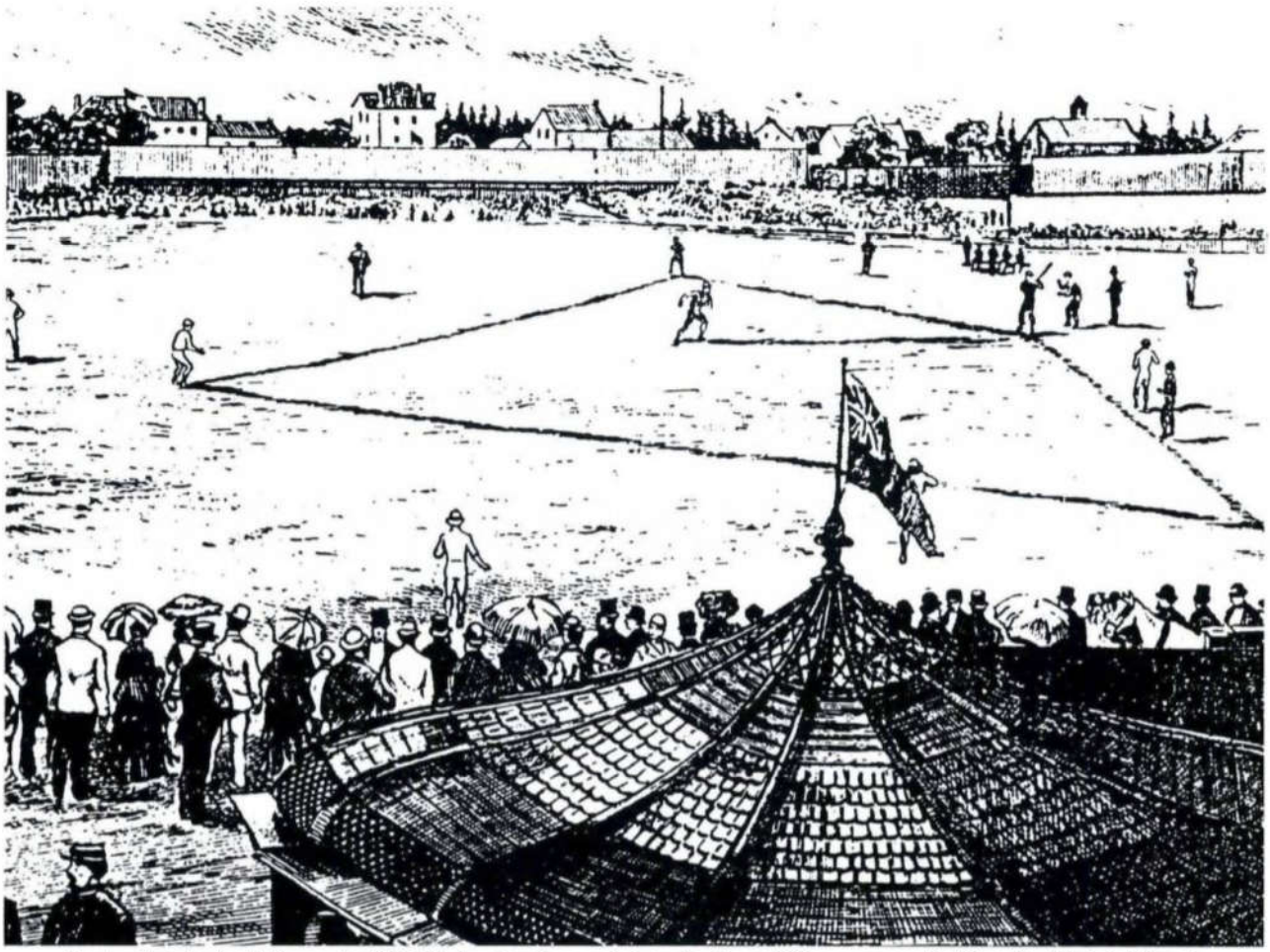
A 1744 publication entitled *A Little Pretty Pocket-book, Intended for the Amusement of Little Master Tommy and Pretty Miss Polly* has this poem listed under the letter B:

Base-ball

The Ball once struck off
Away flies the Boy
To the next destin'd Post
And then Home with Joy.

But it is Ford's letter, which also includes a diagram of a five-sided playing field, that sets down for the first time the specifics of a particular game. And what gives it added credibility is that his description of the rules are similar to those listed in other sources of the time. He writes "the distance from the thrower to the catcher was eighteen yards; the catcher standing three yards behind the home bye (base). From the home bye, or 'knocker's' stone, to the first bye was six yards."

The distance between the subsequent byes (there were four of them plus home) was 21 yards. "The object in having the first bye so near the home," Ford writes, "was to get runners on the base lines, so as to have the fun of putting them out or enjoying the mis-



London, Ontario, baseball grounds, 1876. This drawing of a game between London and Chicago appeared in "Canadian Illustrated News".

takes of fielders when some fleet footed fellow would dodge the ball and come in home."

After the first bye, the runner would make his way around the other byes when there was a hit and he would have to dodge balls thrown at him. The way to get someone out was either by catching the ball on the fly or first bounce or by hitting a runner with the ball when he was off the bye. The latter was known as soaking, burning or plugging. Cartwright later changed that aspect of the game to simply tagging the runner.

Barney and Bouchier note that Ford's diagram of the playing field was similar to square baseball fields common in New York and Massachusetts in the 1840s. But there were distinguishing features to Ford's game: there was territory to show where fair and foul balls were, or "fair hit" and "no hit" as he called them.

The authors speculate that the foul territory was set up to keep the ball away from obstacles nearby that might interfere with the play. This set the game apart from cricket, which was also popular at the time. The reference to the knocker's stone is also interesting because it precedes Cartwright's idea by seven years even though Cartwright is often given credit for this innovation. Batters were known as strikers or knockers while pitchers were referred to by Ford as throwers or tossers.

A pitcher would toss the ball and do his best to locate it at any height between the knocker's bend of the knee and the top of his head, near enough to him to be fairly within reach. All other pitches were considered unfair. According to Ford, the strategic points for the thrower to aim at were near the knocker's elbow or between his club and ear. When a man struck at a ball and missed it was a strike, and if a man struck at the ball three times and missed it and the catcher caught the ball each time he was out. However, if he struck at the ball and it was not caught by the catcher the strike did not count. A hit ball that "went anywhere within lines drawn straight back between home and the fourth bye, and between home and first bye extended in to the field, the striker had to run."

There was something of a code of honour between

pitcher and hitter which explains why there were no umpires used in this game. The knocker didn't have to strike at the ball but "a man would be despised and guyed unmercifully if he would not hit at a ... fair ball." Despite this code of honour, Ford mentions that "Old Ned" Dolson "could catch the ball right away from the front of the club if you didn't keep him back so far that he couldn't reach it."

Games usually lasted six to nine innings with seven being the most common or until one side scored 18 or 21 runs. A team's chances at bat lasted until there were "three hands" (men) out. The tally of runs was kept by cutting notches on the edge of a stick when the base runners came in to home. According to Ford's letter the number of men on each side had to be equal before a game could be played, usually between seven and 12 players per team.

In Ford's day there was no fancy equipment. For bats "a Wagon spoke, or any nice straight stick would do," but often they were made of the best cedar and finished on a shaving horse. In the particular game he described "the ball was made of double and twisted woolen yarn, a little smaller than the regulation ball of today and covered with good, honest calf skin, sewed with waxed ends by Edward McNamee, a shoemaker." He also mentioned that players used bags for byes instead of stakes or posts.

Because he had the benefit of hindsight, Ford also comments on the changes in baseball that took place between the 1838 game and when he wrote his letter.

And the sport had certainly changed. The first formally organized baseball team was probably the New York Knickerbockers in 1845 who played by rules written by Cartwright. The growth of train travel and telecommunications led to formalized rules of baseball spreading across boundaries, eventually eliminating the regional variations of the game. A standard game meant a team from any province or state could play another.

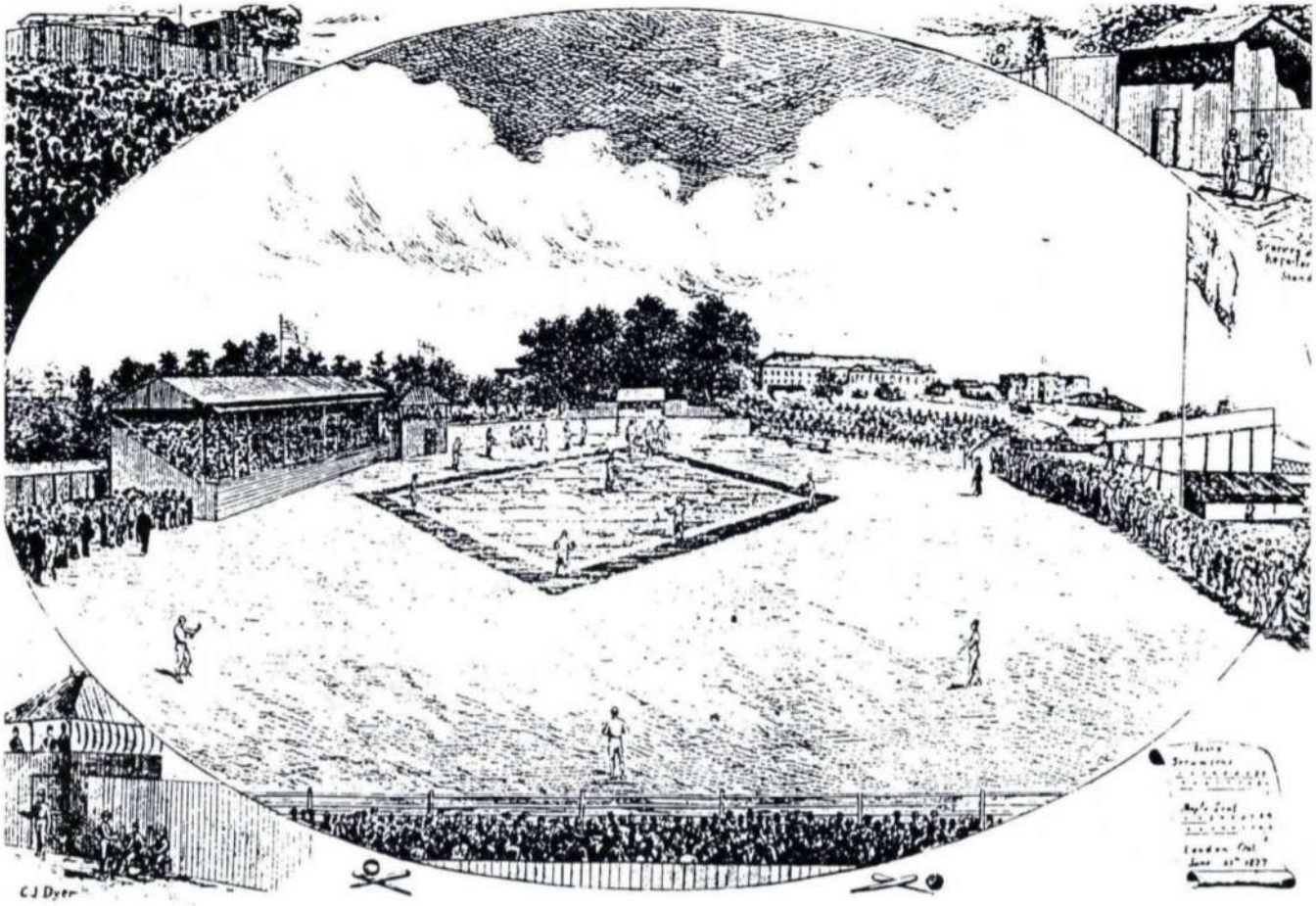
After playing Cartwright's game, Ford thought it so different it "felt as if we had been on an overland trip to the moon."

Ford wasn't taken with the modernization of the game. The new baseballs developed in the 1840s used India rubber and were livelier and could be hit farther. "You could knock it so far that the fielders would be chasing it yet, like dogs hunting sheep, after you had gone clear around and scored your tally." That led to the use of tricky pitches so that batters would have difficulty hitting the ball.

The Maple Leaf Baseball Club of Guelph, 1874, from "A Concise History of Sport in Canada" (Oxford University Press, 1989).

Nevertheless Ford's love of the game is clear: "I have played from that day to this and I don't intend to quit as long as there is another boy on the ground." And as valuable a document as his letter is, it is unfortunate he does not provide even more details. He writes near the end of the letter "I could give you pages of incidentals but space forbids."

Finally, it is worth noting some aspects of Ford's personal life that may have fueled controversy surrounding the letter. Because he was born in 1831 and only a youngster when the game was played, some have ques-



A game between the Tecumseh Club of London and the Maple Leaf Club of Guelph, July 1877, from "Canadian Illustrated News".

tioned how a boy could have remembered such specifics from one game. And then there was Ford's involvement in a sensational murder scandal in St. Mary's.

Apparently in 1878, a Robert Guest who was the secretary of the St. Mary's Temperance Association died mysteriously after drinking in Ford's office. A coroner's inquest was held behind closed doors and Ford was not brought to trial. However, the incident prompted his move to Denver in 1880. Although he made a name for himself again by being the first to hold a curling bonspiel west of the Missouri River, Ford's life had further difficulties. He cared for a son who was a morphine addict, and Ford himself supposedly had a history of alcohol and drug problems. He died virtually destitute on 17 May 1906.

Nevertheless, Ford's letter stands as a starting point for the history of the game here. And Canada's love affair with professional baseball began long before there were ever Montreal Expos or Toronto Blue Jays. The first Canadian to play in the major leagues was Bill Phillips of Saint John, New Brunswick, who batted .302 for Brooklyn in 1895. James Edward "Tip" O'Neill of Woodstock, Ontario, recorded the highest batting average ever in a season in 1887 when he batted .492 (bases on balls were counted as hits then), George Gibson of London, Ontario, who played for the Pittsburgh Pirates in the early 1900s is considered one of their all-time best players and Ferguson Jenkins of Chatham, Ontario, was the first Canadian inducted into the Hall of Fame.

In 1988 a stamp was issued recognizing 150 years of the sport in Canada. As well, a match was held that year between a team in Beachville and one from Cooperstown playing by the rules outlined by Ford. The 155th anniversary was celebrated with another game in June of 1993. ◆

Mark Kearney is a widely-published London, Ontario, freelance writer. *Special thanks to the Beachville District Museum, Beachville, Ontario.*

HIGH PRIESTESS OF 'IT'

By Marian Fowler

"The It girls", the April, 1994 issue of *Vanity Fair* calls them, labelling the present crop of young Hollywood beauties with a word for sex-appeal coined 66 years ago and still current. There they are, baring breasts and navels, pouting sensuous lips, posing in silks and maribou: Ione Sky, Liv Tyler, Jennifer Grant, Sofia Coppola, Zoe Cassavetes. "To be an It girl", writes Lynn Hirschberg in the accompanying text, is to have "an intrinsic ability to capture the spotlight", to be studied, copied, envied, admired — and worshipped. The It girl has always been more icon than individual, a powerful sexual image and cult figure, chief female goddess in North America's post-Christian pantheon, one of Camille Paglia's *Sexual Personae.* In her scholarly work of that name, Paglia demonstrates how Western art and identity are organized around charismatic female icons, recurring sexual stereotypes essentially pagan in their sensuality, earthiness and mystery. Paglia's ramble through Western culture ends with the Victorian Age. If she can ever tear herself away from the celebrity circus of her own notoriety long enough to get back to her desk, she will, as she states in *Sexual Personae,* write a sequel focusing on the twentieth century, what she calls "The Age of Hollywood," where movie and television screens serve as sacred precincts. In the meantime, Paglia, in her collected essays *Sex, Art and American Culture,* gives Madonna and Elizabeth Taylor top billing as It girls who best combine the animality and artifice of the eternal feminine.

One wonders if Hirschberg and Paglia are aware that the It girl was created (as was her macho counterpart, Superman) by a Canadian. It was Elinor Sutherland Glyn who coined the expression, made it current, published *It and Other Stories* in 1927, wrote the scenario and produced the 1928 silent film *It* (surely the first book-movie tie-in), taught the film's star, Clara Bow, how to vamp, lectured on It across America, kept the subject in the media spotlight year after year to yield her a large income. Elinor had consciously created herself, before she began on Clara Bow, in the public image of an It girl, and she understood instinctively, almost 70 years ago, everything Camille Paglia spells out in *Sexual Personae* about female magnetism and mystery. Long before Erica Jong or Jackie Collins thought of doing so, Elinor Glyn helped her many books to sell by turning herself into a newsworthy public persona. Tall and slender, with striking red hair, white skin and green eyes, she was seldom seen in public without two props guaranteed to suggest a woman's animal energy and mystery: tiger skins and chiffon veils.

Her parents were both Canadian, born and raised here, but because we've never acquired a taste for Canadian heroes or heroines, Elinor Glyn was more or less ignored by us when she was alive and forgotten as soon as she died. It's high time to bring her back into the spotlight, not only because of her wise insights into woman's true nature and her ability to read the future, and profit from its trends, but also because she was a fascinating, complex woman. She lived an adventurous life of shifting backgrounds: Ontario in the 1860s;

National Portrait Gallery, London

Elinor Glyn with her cats Candide and Zadig, 1931.

The wealthily-wived Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India and sometime lover.

English Edwardian society; the American Wild West; Russia's Imperial Court; the great silent film days of Hollywood. Elinor Glyn had the quintessential Canadian psyche, full of ambivalence and contradictions. She was both dreamer and doer; romantic and realist; social butterfly and hard-working career woman; exhibitionist and solitary introvert; old-fashioned female and new, liberated woman. Underlying these dichotomies was the primary Canadian one, for she was part English and part French. Her Canadian experience, with its harsh austerity and hard winters, no doubt helped to form the granite of her character, for she was tough, iron-willed, a born survivor.

Her mother, Elinor Saunders, was the daughter of Colonel Thomas Saunders and his Irish wife Lucy (née Willcocks). Colonel Saunders, born in Paris in 1795, had a French mother and an English father related to Admiral Charles Saunders who had brought Wolfe's ships up the St. Lawrence to Quebec in 1759. The Colonel and his wife emigrated to Canada in the 1830s, settled at Guelph, Ontario, then a cluster of cabins and one store, and endured the usual pioneer hardships. Colonel Saunders wrote in 1836 to an English uncle; "You have no idea of the sufferings of new settlers in this country" and complained that "my crops were destroyed by frost on the 4th and 5th of August." In 1840, after helping to build Guelph's jail and town hall, the Colonel became Clerk of the Peace for Wellington District and built a farm house called Woodlands where he and Lucy raised one son and eight daughters. In 1858, pretty daughter Elinor, aged 16, was courted by Douglas Sutherland, a 20-year-old civil engineer working on the Grand Trunk Railway. Douglas was of Scots descent, born and raised in Sydney, Nova Scotia. Three years later, Elinor and Douglas married and began junketing about wherever railroads needed to be built. Their first child, Lucy, was born in London in 1862 and our heroine Elinor on 17 October 1864, in Jersey, where her mother had gone to await the birth while Douglas worked in northern Italy on the Mont Cenis tunnel at Turin. He caught typhoid there and died when baby Elinor was only three months old. His distraught young widow went home to Guelph with her two children to live with her parents, who had now retired to a pillared house called Summer Hill. In this rural Ontario setting, Elinor spent the first seven years of her life, learning rigid decorum from her dour, aristocratic grandparents, who never mixed socially with the lower classes and who always dressed for dinner. In 1871, Elinor's mother married a crusty 64-year-old bachelor, David Kennedy, and went with her two daughters and new husband to live in Jersey. Elinor hated her "crotchety, cranky, invalid" stepfather; he sacked her governess to save money; thereafter she taught herself by reading voraciously in his well-stocked library.

At 16, she was already an It girl. Mark Twain, when he later met her, thought her "faultlessly formed and incontestably beautiful" with red hair of a "most rare and quite ravishing tint." On a visit to relatives in Paris, Elinor was escorted to the Jardin des Plantes to see her first tiger by a young beau who kept whispering *"belle tigresse"* into her receptive ear. At that moment, Elinor's public image — very different from her inner self — began to take shape.

Sister Lucy married a dissolute, drunken Englishman, James Wallace, and went to live in a cottage in the grounds of Lord Fitzhardinge's Cranford Park, just outside London at Hownslow. From there Elinor, with Lady Fitzhardinge's help, launched herself into English society. In her first two seasons, she turned down proposals of marriage from a "bibulous peer with walrus moustache", from the Duke of Newcastle, who seemed interested only in "the details of ecclesiastical apparel" and from a vulgar, new millionaire with "a common voice and unfastidious manners."

During a mid-winter country-house party at Hillersdon, in Devon, four men competing for Elinor's attention proved their devotion by jumping at 3 a.m. into an icy lake (then had to bathe in the host's best

champagne to ward off chills.) When news of this escapade spread all the way to Essex, bachelor Clayton Glyn arranged to meet the siren who could so inspire. Clayton was a typical huntin', shootin' English country squire, whose shock of silver hair (the result of a gas explosion) reminded Elinor of storybook pictures of Cinderella's Prince in powdered wig. Clayton soon proposed, and Elinor accepted (she was 28 and desperate), whereupon he went off "to see how the young pheasants were doing" and didn't reappear until the wedding day two months later. They were married in London in April, 1892, at fashionable St. George's in Hanover Square, with Elinor radiant in diamond tiara and white satin gown made by sister Lucy, who had divorced her no-good husband and launched her successful London couture house, Lucile. (It would later have branches in New York and Paris and made Lucy, like Elinor, rich from her own entrepreneurial efforts, at a time when few women were.)

Elinor and Clayton went to Brighton for the honeymoon, where he made his first and final romantic gesture. He hired the public baths for two days so that his bride, naked, could swim up and down with her very long red tresses undulating behind her. Settled at Clayton's Essex estate, Elinor coped with depression and ill health following the birth of two daughters; with her husband's neglect; with the boredom of mixing with her county neighbours and with a constant shortage of cash by writing her first novel *The Visits of Elizabeth* (1900), a clever comedy of manners. With her royalty cheques, Elinor bought her first tiger skin. "The touch of the tiger awakens some far-off savagery in me", she confided to a friend.

Elinor kept churning out novels, making heroic efforts to keep Clayton out of debt (he gambled and drank cases of expensive brandy), to give daughters Margot and Juliet good educations and to support her mother. The novel which made her rich and famous in 1907 was *Three Weeks,* written in six, at a white heat, straight from the subconscious. Elinor explains that the novel was "the outpouring of my whole nature, romantic, proud and passionate but forever repressed in real life ... held fast behind the iron mask of self-control which had been locked round my throat by Grandmamma in Canada long years before." The story centres on an upper-class young Englishman, engaged to a dowdy English girl, and his tempestuous three-week affair with an older, mysterious Lady (never named, but Queen of a Balkan country, married to a cruel old King.) *Three Weeks* created a new genre, the sex novel, and was years ahead of its time. There is sexuality on every page; a new balance of sexual power wherein an older woman initiates the affair and dominates a younger man; adultery and an out-of-wedlock birth; a union which is purely physical, a 21-night stand

Screen flapper Gloria Swanson dances among the dinner rolls in "The Great Moment", 1921, Elinor Glyn's first Hollywood film.

with no follow-up, the kind of man-woman coupling which Erica Jong would later glorify in *Fear of Flying. Three Weeks* created a furor in the press, and sold as sensationally as its modern-day counterpart, Robert James Waller's *The Bridges of Madison County.* It was banned in Boston, and for a time in Canada. As late as 1932, a Mickey Mouse cartoon which showed a cow reclining in a field reading *Three Weeks* was banned in the state of Ohio. By that time, the novel had sold five million copies and been translated into almost every European language, with particularly heavy sales in Spain and Scandinavia. Elinor would write 38 books in all, including 14 non-fiction works, but none of them would match *Three Weeks* in sales or notoriety. Round two continents flew the verse some wag had invented:

Would you like to sin
With Elinor Glyn
On a tiger skin?
Or would you prefer
To err
With her
On some other fur?

Elinor returned in triumph to North America in the autumn of 1907, walking down the *Lusitania's* gangplank in New York with friend Consuelo, American-born Duchess of Manchester. Elinor met and charmed waiting reporters in purple coat and toque, trailing

Writer Anita Loos and director John Emerson examine silent film captions. "If Hollywood hadn't existed," Miss Loos observed, "Elinor Glyn would have had to invent it."

yards of purple chiffon. In a glass-fronted bookshelf in her hotel suite, she arranged the 60 pairs of high-heeled shoes which she'd brought with her. Long before she got to Hollywood, Elinor never underestimated the power of wardrobe as woman's arsenal of femininity. (In England, she wrote her romantic fiction in a boudoir with hundreds of pink silk handmade roses rambling over bed canopy, bedspread and curtains. Barbara Cartland would have approved.) Before returning to England, Elinor visited Nevada, and the woman raised in pioneer Ontario loved its rawness, and its cowboys, who gave her a banquet and a small silver gun, ever after her most cherished possession.

When *Three Weeks* was dramatized in 1908 in London, with Elinor playing the sultry heroine, Lord Curzon, former Viceroy of India, came to a matinee, fell under her spell and made her his mistress for the next seven years. He had been a widower for two; his wife, Mary, an American heiress whose main attraction was her money, had succumbed to the overwhelming combination of His Lordship's ego and India's climate, and died at age 36. For Lord Curzon, Elinor Glyn was mere diversion; he gave her a tiger skin and enjoyed her quick wit. When asked why her children were so much more intelligent than his own, Elinor replied: "Well, the mother does make a difference!" For Elinor, Curzon was the grand passion of her life.

Husband Clayton conveniently removed himself from the scene in 1909 and did a flit to Constantinople to escape his creditors. After that he and Elinor lived apart; he died of alcoholism in 1915, leaving a mountain of debts for her to work off.

Curzon asked Elinor to decorate his Jacobean country house Montacute, in Somerset. She worked hard at her task, hoping she would get to live there as Lady Curzon, for she had always been a snob, filling her fiction and her life with as many Lords and Dukes and Royals as she could muster. The Queen of Rumania was a friend; Grand Duchess Vladimir had invited her to Russia and Queen Ena, to Spain, to observe elaborate court ceremonies and write about them. One day in 1916, Elinor opened the *Times* at breakfast to read that Lord Curzon would shortly marry Grace Duggan, an American quite as wealthy as wife no. 1. Elinor never saw him or spoke to him again. She threw his 500 love letters onto a bonfire, but hung onto the tiger skin.

In 1920, Elinor began the brightest chapter of her life. Jesse Lasky of Famous Players-Lasky invited her to Hollywood to write scenarios for his silent films, and supervise their productions. He offered $10,000 per picture, plus travel expenses. Elinor was almost 56. She would have to uproot herself from family and friends, to live in a strange milieu where she knew no one, and to work in a new medium about which she knew noth-

Clara Bow, the "It girl". Elinor Glyn is said to have observed that the only possessors of "It" in Hollywood were Clara Bow, Antonio Moreno, Rex the Wonder Horse and the Doorman at the Ambassador Hotel.

Madame Glyn pays homage to film magnate B.P. Schulberg, 1928, unfortunately mis-spelling his name.

ing. But Elinor loved adventure and challenge, and somehow divined Hollywood's future importance. "I felt certain that a great new art was being born which would profoundly influence the whole world" she wrote in her autobiography. She sailed on the *Mauretania* and told her mother she was going "full of hope and confidence, with the spirit free and strong."

Upon arrival in California, Elinor moved into the seedy Hollywood Hotel, where she met the other writers whom Lasky had invited to Hollywood; Maurice Maeterlinck, Edward Knoblock, Somerset Maugham and Canadian friend Gilbert Parker. Maugham lasted nine days before he fled; the others followed, all but Elinor. She had found the perfect background — sexy, sentimental, surreal — for her emerging public persona. "If Hollywood hadn't existed, Elinor Glyn would have had to invent it" wrote script-writer Anita Loos. In her approach to films, as in *Three Weeks*, Elinor seemed to know instinctively what the public wanted, to intuit their hidden desires and deepest emotional needs. She was a supreme image-maker, carefully creating Hollywood's earliest stars and fanciful sets. But her greatest creation was that of Madame Glyn, haughty, aristocratic, sultry — and destined for a long run.

Her first film *The Great Moment* (1921), directed by Sam Wood, starred Gloria Swanson, who wanders off into the sagebrush and gets bitten by a rattlesnake. The hero opportunely appears, picks her up, tears at her blouse, bares her bosom, turns her from the camera's vulgar stare, bends over and sucks out the poison. After that, of course, they marry. Elinor's two daughters both married British baronets in 1921, but their mother was having far too much fun in her natural milieu to attend their weddings. *Beyond the Rocks* (1922), adapted from her novel and also directed by Wood, had Swanson falling in love with an English lord played by Rudolph Valentino. Elinor was lured away from Lasky to Metro-Goldwyn to make six films, including *Three Weeks* (1924), directed by Alan Crosland; *His Hour* (1924), based on another of Elinor's novels and directed by King Vidor and *Six Days* (1923), directed by Charles Brabin. Elinor then returned to Famous Players-Lasky, now called Paramount, to do *Ritzy* (1927) and her greatest triumphs *It* (1928) and *Red Hair* (1928), both directed by Clarence Badger and starring Clara Bow. Badger was ill during the filming of *It*, so Josef von Sternberg shot some of the important scenes, with hints of the extraordinary magic and mystery with which he would later film his ideal woman, Marlene Dietrich. Madame Glyn appears briefly in the film to define It for the hero, and later for *Photoplay* magazine, as "largely to do with animal magnetism." She announced that more than any other young lady in Hollywood, Clara Bow had It. The two redheads enjoyed their new fame and tore around town in Clara's red Packard roadster. Elinor queened her way through all the Hollywood parties exotically gowned and turbaned in emerald green or purple and encircled by fastidious young men. She entertained at "salons" in her hotel suite, where Madame Glyn reclined in pastel pyjamas reciting Swinburne in her contralto voice, which Sam Goldwyn thought sounded like the lonely wind soughing through pine trees.

Actress and former Follies girl Marion Davies invited Elinor to her beach house and Marion's lover William Randolph Hearst, the newspaper magnate, insisted Elinor become a regular guest at week-end parties at San Simeon. Elinor was one of the guests cruising on Hearst's yacht *Oneida* when producer William Ince suddenly died, and everyone whispered that Hearst, finding him with Marion, had shot him in a fit of jealousy. (The mystery of Ince's death was never solved; Marion Davies, Charles Chaplin and Elinor herself all wrote about it later, but with very different and conflicting accounts.) Charles Chaplin and Elinor became good friends, and made a spectacular team on the dance floor. She was amazingly supple and had once taken lessons in Egyptian belly-dancing. "Though she was a little overwhelming at first", Charlie wrote, "I became very fond of her." Canadians Mary Pickford and Marie Dressler also became close friends. Mary and husband Douglas Fairbanks were the uncrowned queen and king

of Hollywood, and Elinor had always gravitated toward royals. She once told Douglas Fairbanks Jr. that his ears stuck out so much that he would never have It, and could certainly not attract a woman with It.

Elinor made two fine contributions to Hollywood's infant film industry. She insisted on both total accuracy and high aesthetic standards in the sets — no more spittoons all in a row in old English castles — and she added plenty of sexy sizzle to the love scenes. She taught Rudolph Valentino, for instance, to kiss the palm of an actress' hand, rather than the back, and taught Gloria Swanson how to walk and talk in a come-hither way. Sam Goldwyn gave Elinor full credit: "Elinor Glyn's name", he wrote in his autobiography, "is synonymous with the discovery of sex appeal in the cinema."

By the time *It* and *Red Hair* were filmed in 1928, talking pictures were making their debut, and Elinor suddenly found her methods and herself quaintly out of date in Hollywood. Cult objects eventually become prisoners of their own symbolic inflation, and this is what happened to Elinor. The natural red hair had to be dyed now, and supplemented with a coronet of false braids. The naturally white skin, once "translucent as alabaster" was now covered, according to Anita Loos, with make-up which "might have been scraped off the white cliffs of Dover." "She was the first woman I'd ever seen wearing false eyelashes" remembers Gloria Swanson. Elinor's once-lovely but now sagging face was subjected to one of the earliest face-lifts, so painful that Elinor lay for ten days with her arms strapped to her sides. Surgery thrust her jaw and teeth forward to erase chin and mouth wrinkles. The result was that when she laughed, there was a slight difficulty in re-adjusting lips over teeth which Chaplin and friends found hilarious.

Haughty Madame Glyn fled Hollywood, and hard-working, prosaic Elinor Glyn resurfaced in New York, in a suite on the top floor for the Ritz Tower, where she stayed for nearly a year, writing articles for Hearst's newspapers and various magazines.

She returned to England in the spring of 1929, and since she had a large unpaid tax bill in America, she wisely remained in the U.K. for the rest of her life. She decorated a London flat in her usual sumptuous style — interior décor was now more mania than mere interest — with French period furniture, antique damasks, lacquer screens, great jars of lilies, and seven tiger skins, each named for the lover who had given it to her. She acquired two large marmalade cats, Candide and Zadig, who had as much It as their mistress. She could still come up with a good public relations stunt when necessary. At a literary luncheon at the Dorchester Hotel in March, 1939, where 74-year-old Elinor was guest speaker, she wore her cat Candide draped round her neck like a fur-piece. The speech put Candide instantly to sleep, but kept the audience on the edge of their seats. "Great success!" wrote Elinor in her diary.

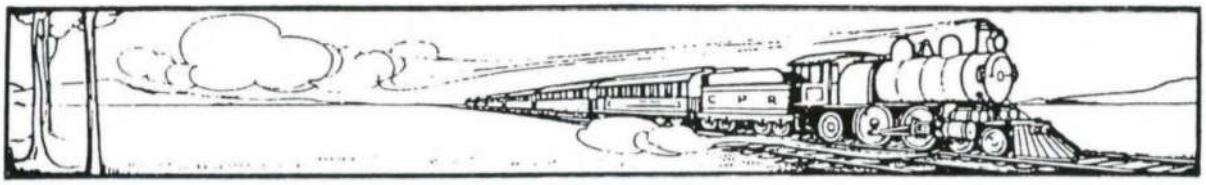
Chaplin: Overwhelmed, at first.

She still had many male admirers who corresponded regularly, including a Polish prince, living in the United States, an Austrian one, in Vienna, and a Field-Marshal in Finland. Her autobiography, aptly titled *Romantic Adventure,* was published in June, 1936, but it is less than candid, for Elinor rarely lets her carefully constructed mask slip. We see only the arch romantic, tossing her veils and roses, assuring readers that the "fundamental impulse behind every action" of her life had been "the desire for romance." We catch few glimpses of the real Elinor Glyn: a fiercely ambitious, hard-working novelist, essayist, journalist, film producer, lecturer, a woman who was always huckster, opportunist and media hustler.

She died on 23 September 1943, a few weeks before her 79th birthday. The London *Times* obituary correctly noted that "she was by nature intense and lived every moment of a long and adventurous life." The *New York Times* observed that she habitually described herself as "high priestess of the God of Love" and *Time* magazine called her "the sex novel's impeccable grandmother."

In the final analysis, while for the self-created persona of Madame Glyn, Hollywood made an inspiring back-drop, one that made her imagination soar, for the real Elinor Sutherland Glyn, with all her divisions and dichotomies, her pragmatism and her cynicism, Canada was a far more fitting home. Was Canada also a necessary catalyst? Who knows? Perhaps without those stern, repressed early years in a cold, Calvinist country, the sex novel and the It girl might never have been born. ◆

Marian Fowler is the author of several volumes of biography, including "Below the Peacock Fan: First Ladies of the Raj", published by Penguin.



BRITISH FARMERS ON THE 'GRAND TOUR'

'Well Pleased With The Country'

By Wayne Norton

Canadian efforts to encourage the emigration of British agriculturalists during the 1880s took a variety of forms. Assisted passages for farmers, lectures and lantern slides, promotional literature, and support of private settlement initiatives were all tried during the course of the decade. However, by the spring of 1890, it had become apparent that British farmers were not responding to these encouragements (as the disappointing results of the 1891 Canadian census would soon confirm). Moreover, the Prairie West was receiving unfavourable publicity in the British press as a result of the difficulties being experienced by crofter settlements near Killarney in Manitoba, and near Saltcoats in Assiniboia. As the first government-assisted scheme of colonization in Victorian times, the Crofter and Cottar Colonization scheme was attracting considerable attention, much of it critical. When the Canadian government granted $150,000 in additional funds to the Department of Agriculture for promotional purposes, the decision was taken to invite a small group of British farmers to tour the Dominion in the autumn of 1890.

The idea was not new. In 1879, the Minister of Agriculture, J.H. Pope, instructed Canadian agents in Britain to solicit from various farmers' organizations the names of respected, practising farmers willing to accept the invitation to examine Canada's farming districts and to report back to their respective organizations upon their return. Fourteen delegates spent nearly three months in Canada during the autumn of 1879, some venturing as far as Manitoba, talking to farmers and politicians about the experiences and prospects of agriculturalists in the Canadian provinces.

The suggestion to revive the idea of a tour of farmer delegates appears to have originated in the spring of 1890 with the Canadian agent at Bristol, John W. Down, who noted that the reports of the delegates of 1879 had done immense good for Canada. The Canadian High Commissioner, Sir Charles Tupper, supported the proposal and recommended it to the Canadian government. By mid-July, Canadian authorities anxiously awaited confirmation of a good harvest before publicly announcing their plans. Tupper wrote to John Carling, the Minister of Agriculture:

> As soon as it is absolutely certain that a good crop will be secured, I think you should send me a cable, and I would then arrange immediately to send out some tenant farmer delegates.

Tupper added that the estimated cost of $10,000 to the Department of Agriculture would be money well spent.

The anticipated cable was received in early August. Tupper directed the Canadian agents at Glasgow, Liverpool, Bristol, Belfast and Dublin to follow his example in addressing letters to newspapers to publicize the scheme. By 20 August, nearly 300 applications had been received and considered. Two Scottish farmers, John Speir and George Brown, were the first to be selected, and Tupper confirmed that all twelve selections would be finalized by the end of the first week of August. Clearly, one of the chief selection criteria, noted by John Speir in his application, was the ability to "leave at once."

The twelve men selected were not delegates in the same sense as those who had toured Canada in 1879. George Hutchinson, for example, as one of the 1879 delegates, had been selected by the Penrith Farmers' Club as their nominee for the proposed tour. In 1890, he was again selected, but only as a result of his per-

sonal application. Just how representative of the British agricultural community the individuals selected by Tupper were is an open question. The rapid selection process necessarily restricted the choice to those immediately available. It is also interesting to note that records in Great Britain today contain barely a trace of five of the twelve farmers, all of whom in their applications and while in Canada claimed to be substantial farmers in their local areas.

Embarking from Liverpool in late August and early September, the delegates travelled cabin class on Allan Line steamships. The only exception was Major Stevenson, the delegate from Northern Ireland, who boarded the Dominion Line's *Sarnia* at Belfast Lough on 5 September. Some delegates took the time to investigate the quarters of the steerage passengers, and nearly all expressed their fascination with the icebergs they saw off Newfoundland. As Tupper had suggested, the Government Agent at Quebec met each delegate or group of delegates. He then accompanied them to Ottawa where they were received by the Minister of Agriculture and where they toured the Experimental Farm. John Speir, the first to arrive, enjoyed a week in Ontario before the last of the delegates joined him at Toronto on 16 September.

Most of the delegates were able to visit the Agricultural College at Guelph, observe classes in the Toronto school system, and attend the Exhibition then taking place at Toronto. Though they all spoke very highly of the Agricultural College and of the Toronto schools, they disagreed on the quality of the stock at the Exhibition. George Brown described Canadian cattle as "rough, lanky brutes," Canadian sheep as "badly bred," and Canadian horses as "light and a bit weedy." Arthur Daniel, from Norfolk, did not agree. He claimed that the stock he saw in Ontario "would not have disgraced any showyard in England."

Finally, on the evening of 17 September, the delegates left Toronto for North Bay where a special rail car, the *Gatineau,* was attached to the train for the journey west. They were accompanied by Mr. G.H. Campbell, the government employee who was to be their tour guide for the remainder of their Canadian visit.

It was at Winnipeg that the wooing of the delegates began in earnest. If the purpose of the tour was to encourage a substantial emigration of British agriculturalists, politicians of the local, territorial, provincial and federal varieties all knew that it was expected of them to show the country to its best advantage. Though the train arrived in the city before five a.m., the Mayor and Corporation were at the station to greet the delegates and to accompany them to the Clarendon, one of Winnipeg's finest hotels, where they were greeted by a Winnipeg Member of Parliament, W.B. Scarth, accompanied by representatives of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Manitoba and North Western Railway. The Minister of Agriculture had previously announced that the delegates were free to go where they pleased, but as strangers in a foreign land, they had little choice but to follow the advice of local officials. Over the next three days, the delegates were driven around the Winnipeg area by Scarth and other land company officials, visiting schools, farms, businesses and Sir Donald A. Smith's captive bison at Silver Heights. They were received by Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. Schultz "who expressed a desire to see Canada peopled by the English-speaking races." They were all invited to a testimonial dinner in the Clarendon Banquet Room in honour of Sir Hector Langevin, Minister of Public Works in John A. Macdonald's cabinet. The 250 invited guests toasted the delegates, made them honorary members of the Manitoba Club, and listened to their British guests extoll the virtues of Winnipeg until well after midnight.

On the morning of 23 September, under the guidance of W.B. Scarth, the delegates departed for Carmen en route to Glenboro. They were accompanied by Thomas Mills, a Welsh photographer who had managed to secure official permission to travel with the delegates. At some stations along the way, local farmers appeared to display their grain and root samples. From Glenboro, on the 24th, the delegates divided into three parties, one visiting the crofters near Hilton, the others travelling to nearby Icelandic and French settlements. On the return ride to Glenboro and on the next day's journey to Plum Creek, some of the delegates enjoyed shooting "prairie chicken, ducks and teal."

In the reports subsequently published in London, the delegates were rather circumspect about the series of banquets held in their honour as they traversed the Canadian West. One delegate casually described the festivity held in Brandon on 26 September as a "supper and smoking concert." Their Canadian guide, G.H. Campbell, told the *Manitoba Free Press* that Brandon's mayor and council had "entertained them royally." Three M.P.s (including Scarth and T.M. Daly) joined the corporation, delegates and invited guests in an evening of song and speech-making. Their departure from the city was marked by cheering crowds. Other city fathers further west read the newspaper reports and were determined to do better. The *Regina Leader* urged a splendid reception for the delegates. The Town Council, Board of Trade and the Assiniboia Agricultural Society needed little prodding; they held a special meeting and organized themselves into a Driving Committee, a Banquet Committee and a Reception Committee in anticipation of the visit. Preparations also began at Calgary.

Even the smaller communities made every effort to

British Columbia Archives

John Speir, an 1890 delegate, examines the dwelling of a prairie farmer.

impress and entertain their visitors. The mayor of Birtle organized a town hall meeting attended by area farmers who told the delegates of their Canadian experiences. The mayor also personally escorted the visitors through the Birtle Agricultural Exhibition. Despite the hospitality, one delegate noted that it was at Birtle that he "experienced the result of the prohibitory Liquor Law" when he could get "nothing to drink but green tea, sour milk and water that could not be called good." Most of the delegates accepted the invitation of the Manitoba and North Western Railway to inspect its lands and settlers, visiting Binscarth, Russell and Saltcoats over a four day period, before rejoining the other delegates at Minnedosa and the main CPR line at Portage la Prairie on 2 October.

The slow pace of westward progress began to attract some complaint. The residents of the Yorkton area could not understand why the delegates had not continued to their community after visiting the crofters near Saltcoats. The *Calgary Tribune* was sharply critical of Campbell for planning to permit the delegates only two days in Calgary after having arranged extended stays in "such commercial centres as Binscarth and Saltcoats." The Calgary reception committee was also reported to be contemplating an official complaint to the Minister of Agriculture.

Blessed with beautiful autumn weather to this point, the delegates experienced a distinct change for the worse when they arrived at the Indian Head Experimental Farm on 3 October. What they saw of modern-day Saskatchewan over the next five days was seen through torrential rain. Accompanied by Nicholas Flood Davin, editor of the *Regina Leader* and M.P. for Assiniboia West, the delegates travelled to Prince Albert on the newly-opened rail link, passing through country that they noted was "said to be better than it looked." The barley and the landscapes of Prince Albert impressed only George Brown, the delegate from the North of Scotland. George Hutchinson, from the North of England, more representatively commented that, "notwithstanding the deluge of rain from above, and the unlimited amount of mud below," they visited the Prince Albert area, the most northerly point of their Canadian tour. Upon returning to Regina, the delegates were formally presented to the lieutenant-governor at the Assiniboia Agricultural Society Fair, and were the guests of honour at a banquet in the Windsor Hotel's dining room on 7 October.

Further to the west, the citizens of Calgary declared themselves ready for their date with destiny. In an editorial entitled "The Duty of the Hour," the *Calgary Herald* insisted that the visit of the tenant-farmers would lend an added significance to the Calgary Agricultural Society's exhibition:

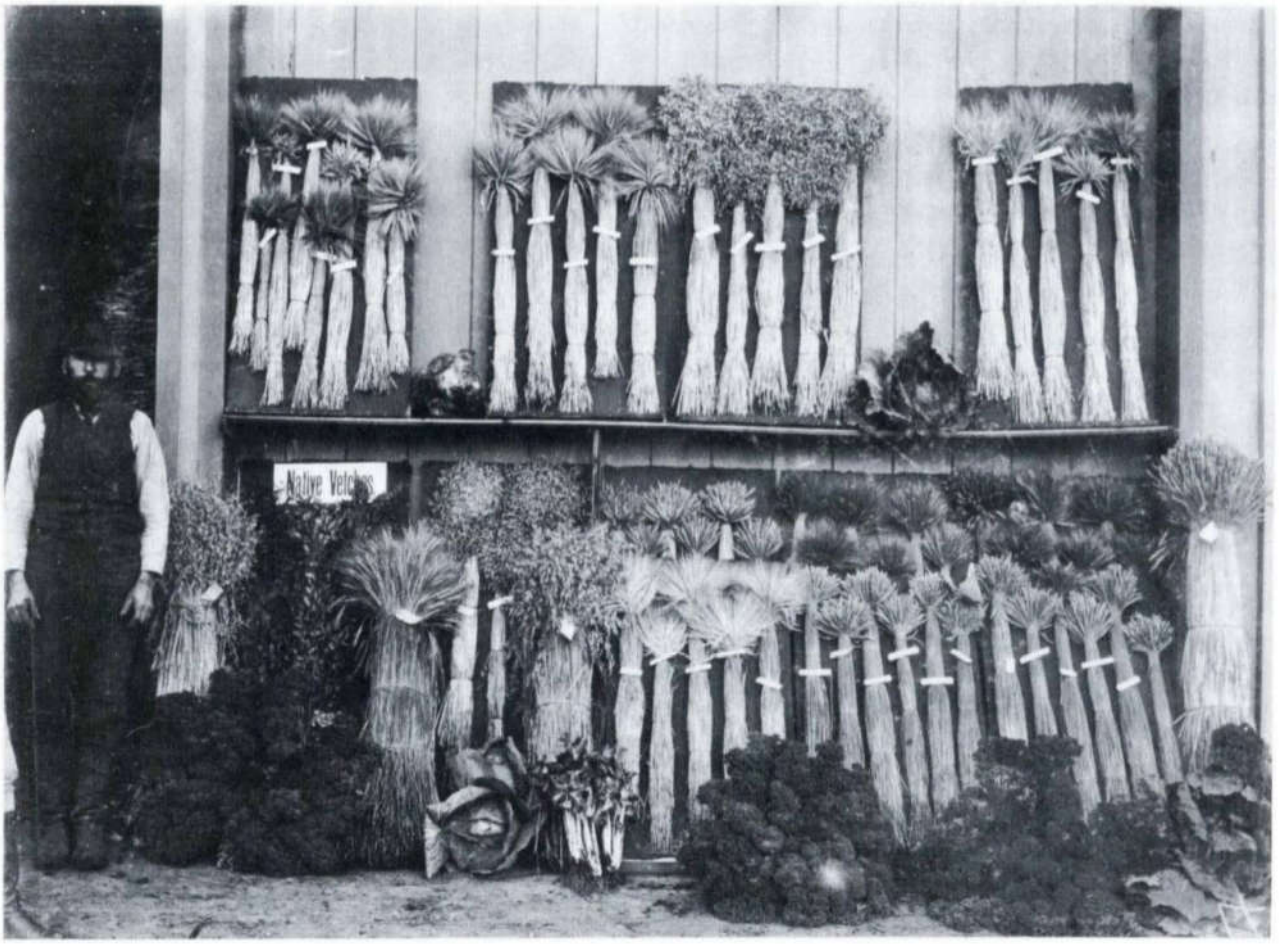
> We are now put to our mettle. We must show the visitors what Alberta can produce in grains and roots and horses and cattle and sheep. Let every man reflect on

this fact, that the better the display made by himself, the better for his locality, the better for all Alberta ... Let us all unite heart and hand to make the exhibition worthy of Alberta and one calculated to inspire confidence in the intelligent body of gentlemen who are making a long journey to see what we have to show.

Civic politicians greeted the delegates at the Alberta Hotel and escorted them through the surrounding countryside on 7 October. In the evening, in a decorated hall, the obligatory banquet was held. The next day, while some of the fatigued delegates visited the Agricultural Show, others were driven in rigs through the ranching areas west of the town.

A brief respite that included a stop at Banff ended on the afternoon of 14 October when the Mayor and Corporation of New Westminster greeted the delegates at the local train station. Before they would leave the Province of British Columbia one week later, there were to be four banquets (at New Westminster, Vancouver, Victoria and Chilliwack) all attended by local, provincial, and federal dignitaries, and all following the pattern established by Brandon, Regina and Calgary. Premier Robson gave an extensive speech at the Driard Hotel banquet in Victoria and the delegates met their third Canadian lieutenant-governor. The newspapers were effusive in their praise of the "happy idea" of organizing such a tour, referring to the visitors as "the most important and influential deputation that has ever visited this country." The delegates responded in kind with praise of their hosts and the province. At the Hotel Vancouver banquet, one delegate told his audience that they "had been received with unequalled courtesy in all parts, but [British Columbia's] grand reception had exceeded all former ones." Major Stevenson, one of the Irish delegates, told the same assembly that "[in] two departments at least Ireland would have a rival in British Columbia; those were the beauty of the women and the growth of potatoes."

Later the delegates inspected the coal mines near



British Columbia Archives

Displays of local produce greeted the visiting farmers at small stations across the prairies and in British Columbia.

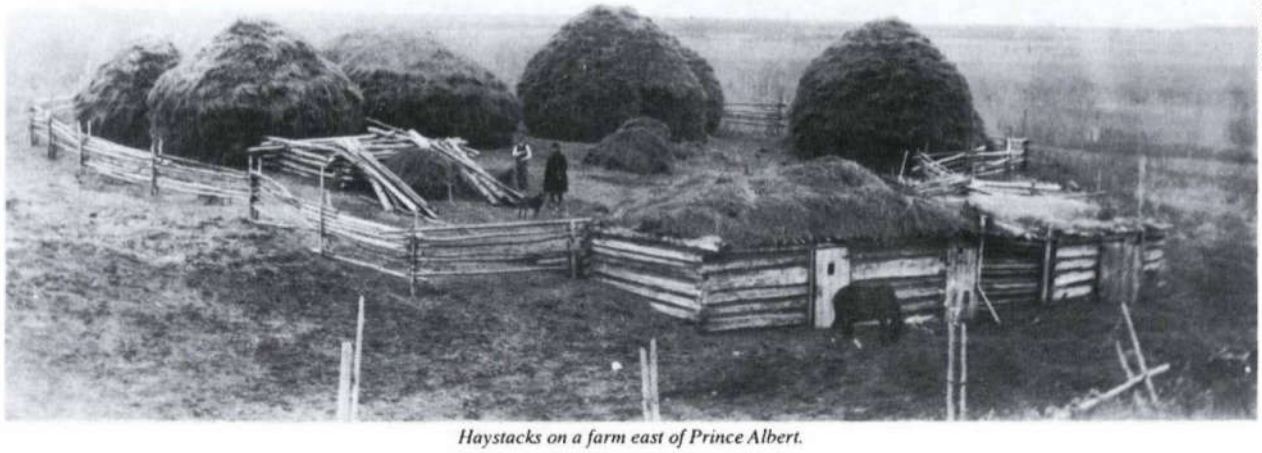
Nanaimo. Several of the reports published later make reference to the nature of Chinese labour in B.C., and the exotic Chinatowns of Victoria and Vancouver clearly fascinated many of the delegates. The only note critical of British Columbia concerned the destruction of good timber the delegates witnessed in the construction of Hastings Street between Vancouver and New Westminster, one delegate referring to the burning as "a sin." After making an unsuccessful attempt to extend their B.C. visit to 25 October, the delegates began their return journey from Agassiz on Tuesday, 21 October.

The eastward journey to Winnipeg was rapid. It included a brief stop at Medicine Hat, and more extended ones at Wolseley and at Moosomin, where yet another banquet awaited the delegates. Colonel Fane, who complained about going around "in half-dozens" while still in Ontario, had departed from B.C. in advance of the main party to spend a few days near Fort McLeod. Colonel Fane, who had served in Canada against the Fenians in 1866, followed a personal itinerary from as early as 17 September, when he took a steamer from Owen Sound to Port Arthur as part of his journey westward. Following their return to Winnipeg on 28 October, several delegates followed this independent example, some travelling back to Ontario via Minneapolis. Though some of the delegates, either singly or in small groups, were to be escorted by ministers and government officials through the agricultural districts of Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, the tour was effectively completed.

On 10 November, eight of the delegates were the guests of honour at the final banquet given in their honour at Russell House in Ottawa. The String Band of the Governor-General's Foot Guards provided the entertainment, and John Carling was the most notable of the many politicians in attendance. Several of the delegates, in the course of their praise of Canada, did include some rather sharp criticisms. Two speeches included warnings of the dangers of the exclusive wheat culture they had witnessed in the West; John Speir complained of the "abominable condition" of Canadian roads; and another delegate commented on the waste of timber in British Columbia which he said "would some day be regretted." Over the next several days, the delegates embarked for Britain, and Canadian officials eagerly anticipated their reports.

Any anxiety about what the reports might contain quickly evaporated as they were received at the Office of the High Commission in London. The reports were not uncritical: most contained some minor reference to the "deficiencies of the country." Also reflected were personal idiosyncrasies of the authors, one delegate, for example, noting that "Canada without a wife is a very poor place indeed." But unanimously the delegates endorsed Canada as a field for emigration. Several reports referred favourably to the absence of policing, begging and drunkeness, the lack of class structure, the light tax burden and the loyalty of Canadians to the British Crown.

Clearly the Canadian authorities had the reports they had hoped for. Arrangements went forward for publication in four parts for regional distribution in the spring of 1891. The publication plans were frustrated somewhat as the report from the delegate from the South of Ireland, E.R. Murphy, was not received by the High Commission. The booklet intended for Irish distribution, therefore, was comprised of the report of Henry Simmons of Berkshire, George Brown's report and that of Major Stevenson. At a cost of less than three cents per copy, Tupper ordered 600,000 copies printed.



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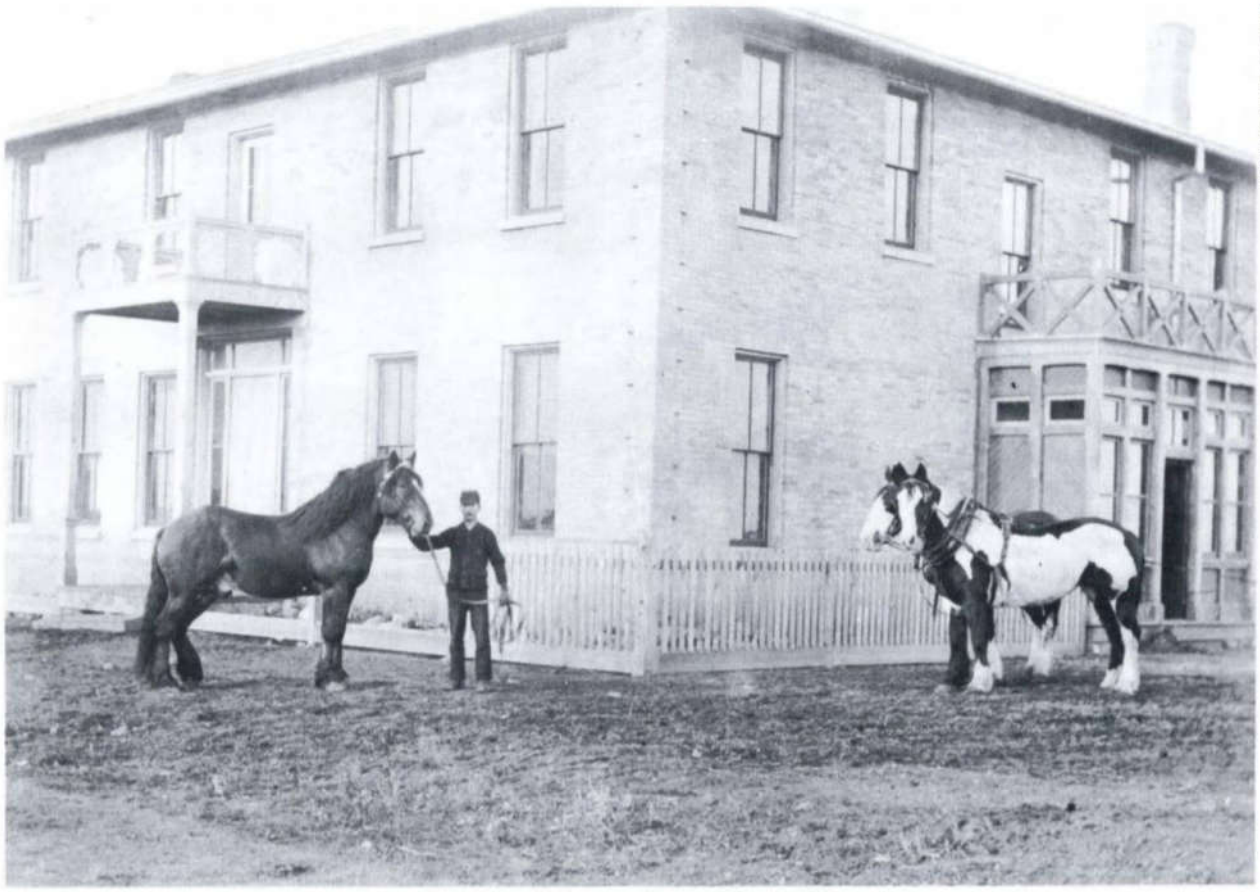
Haystacks on a farm east of Prince Albert.



British Columbia Archives

Dr. Lafferty, his house and horses, Calgary, 1890.

These were sent for distribution to the Canadian emigration agents at Glasgow, Liverpool, Dublin and Bristol, and through them "to every farmer, market gardener and blacksmith in the United Kingdom." The booklets also proved popular with schoolmasters and clergymen, and by 1893, no less than one million had been printed and distributed. The Liverpool agent noted that the reports were the most efficient propaganda he had seen during his twenty years in the service of the Canadian government.

If so, even the most efficient propaganda failed to induce a greater emigration to the Canadian West. The persistently disappointing figures were one of the factors leading to a re-structuring of immigration on 1 May 1892. There was much talk of re-organization and of "new brooms sweeping clean," but apart from the administrative change, little of substance was altered. In July 1893, assured of a good harvest, the Minister of the Interior instructed Sir Charles Tupper to invite another party of representative farmers to tour the Canadian West.

In late July, newspapers throughout the U.K. again carried the news that farmers of sound local reputation who could leave for Canada in early August were invited to apply to form a part of a delegation to inspect the agricultural districts of Canada. Within two weeks, the delegates were selected, and the first group embarked aboard the *Parisian* from Liverpool on 17 August. Joined at Moville on the 18th by J.J. Guiry, the only Irish delegate on the 1893 tour, the *Parisian*'s complement included Sir Charles and Lady Tupper, Charles Hibbert Tupper and the Canadian Prime Minister, Sir John Thompson. Also on board was the photographer Thomas Mills, who entertained with slides of his previous Canadian tour, and who would again accompany the delegates across Western Canada. Mills was to travel at Canadian government expense on the understanding that a selection of his photographs was to be included in the published reports.

The pattern of the 1893 visit closely followed that of the earlier tour. After a night in the finest Montreal hotels, the delegates proceeded to Ottawa where they were received by Canadian officialdom, most notably Adolphe Caron, the Postmaster-General, T.M. Daly, Minister of the Interior, his Deputy Minister M. Burgess, and John Lowe, the Deputy Minister of Agriculture. Leaving the ill J.J. Guiry behind, the first four delegates quickly left Ottawa for Winnipeg where

H.H. Smith, the Dominion Lands Commissioner, was making arrangements for their tour. They arrived in Winnipeg on 1 September, and were met by G.J. Cox, the Dominion Lands Official selected as their tour guide. The press courtship began quickly as the *Manitoba Free Press* declared them to be "all fine specimens of British bone and muscle ... very intelligent and observant gentlemen." Joined subsequently by two other delegates, and on 9 September at Minnedosa by the recovered Guiry, the party spent fully two weeks traversing western Manitoba, by train and rig, arriving in Brandon on 15 September.

Curiously, the last contingent to arrive in Ottawa on 4 September was permitted some sightseeing in the Toronto and Niagara regions before proceeding to Winnipeg. They arrived on 10 September when they were met by their tour guide, E.P. Leacock, and registered at the new Manitoba Hotel. After spending two days in the Winnipeg area, accompanied by the photographer Thomas Mills, the Leacock party proceeded directly to Killarney. They visited the crofter districts near Ninette (where they were much impressed by George Overend's farming, if not by the crofters' agricultural practices), stayed in Killarney the night of 13 September, and then travelled to meet the other group of delegates for the first time at Brandon on 16 September.

The meeting at Brandon proved to be one of the few times the paths of the two groups would cross, though their tours would cover essentially the same territory. Local agents and politicians provided the delegates with the same attention and hospitality as the delegates of 1890 had received, and welcoming committees also invariably included an MLA, an MP or even a senator. However, the reception of two groups of delegates presented communities with some difficulties, and the delegation of 1893 was certainly less "feted" than their counterparts of 1890. Mid-day luncheons were more common; full-scale banquets were less frequent.

As a result, the newspapers had fewer "rousing speeches" to report on. Local reporters generally told the readers of the next destination of their visitors and quoted a representative delegate as being "well pleased with the country." The prairie newspapers, after conducting their interviews, were unstinting in their praise of the delegates. The editor of the *Brandon Mail* declared them to be "the most capable and practical lot of men ever sent to this country." The *Regina Leader* insisted "no more practical and hard working delegation ever reached the country," while the *Saskatchewan Times*, somewhat less effusively, found them to be the most practical and level-headed delegation to ever visit Prince Albert.

Not every moment was devoted to examining agricultural possibilities. At Fort Qu'Appelle on 18 and 19 September, shooting parties were arranged much to the delight of the delegates, while at Prince Albert a week later, the party guided by J.G. Cox spent a night sleeping out on the prairie with guides provided by Major Cotton of the local NWMP detachment. Later, one delegate described the Prince Albert region as "a veritable sportsman's paradise." The location of Louis Riel's hanging at Regina was of interest to some, but it was the situation of the Plains Indians that attracted the near unanimous attention of the visitors. Several of the J.G. Cox party were thrilled to tour an Indian village near Fort Qu'Appelle. A number of Residential Schools were visited, the delegates declaring themselves very impressed with the efforts of the Dominion government to instruct and educate "dusky children ... for a civilized life." Their understanding of plains realities was not profound: one delegate later reported that buffalo had "been killed by the Indians in hundreds of thousands, for their hides and tongues."

Regina was not a major stop on the 1893 tour, but again cold weather contributed to the unfavourable comments some of the delegates later included in their reports. Alex Fraser, from the North of Scotland, wrote that "the bare plain would have a very depressing effect on the spirits of those accustomed to a mountainous country." Reuben Shelton, from Nottingham, decried "the treeless, bleak barren looking plain which will never associate itself ... with the name of Regina." By contrast, both the Cox party and the Leacock party, at Prince Albert and Edmonton respectively experiencing the same cold weather during the last week of September, spoke very highly of the districts they visited. With Calgary little more than a whistle-stop, both parties continued on to the British Columbia leg of their tour, regretting that there would not be stops at Banff, Glacier House or any of the other tourist destinations.

Though their week in British Columbia was hampered by heavy rain, the delegates nevertheless enjoyed the tourist sights fully. They travelled on the new tramway between New Westminster and Vancouver, posed for the obligatory picture at the big tree in Stanley Park, attended church aboard the flagship of the Pacific Squadron at Victoria, and witnessed staged demonstrations of the local fire departments' capabilities at New Westminster and Vancouver. The Scottish delegates, in particular, were impressed by the salmon run, noting that the Fraser River "put in the shade all our little rivers combined such as the Irvine, Cressnock, the Lugar, and Ayr — to such an extent to make fishing at home something of the nature of a joke."

Of particular interest to all the delegates was "Johnny Chinaman." They found his skill and dexterity in the canneries surprising and remarkable, though they also noted the "very strong feeling" against him, due to his ability to live cheaply and to work for low wages.

British Columbia Archives

Edgely Farm, Mr. Cameron and family, Qu'Appelle, 1890.

Because of the lack of female servants, he was acknowledged to be "invaluable as a laundry-man." Both parties saw the Chinese at work in the mining operations at Nanaimo, but for the delegates in the Cox party, the high point of their B.C. visit was the tour of Chinatown arranged for them by the mayor of Victoria on 4 October. Descriptions of the sights in Victoria's Chinatown take up a surprising amount of space in the reports of some delegates who, after all, were charged with reporting on the agricultural potential of the country.

Though the delegates were hosted by the usual array of politicians, agents and commercial officials, and though one party was received by Lieutenant Governor Dewdney, their tour was not celebrated by the newspapers as it had been on the prairies. The delegates all arrived in Vancouver on Saturday 30 September, the two groups meeting for the first time since their paths crossed in Brandon. An editorial in Sunday's *Vancouver Daily News-Advertiser* complained that the visit would be "absurdly short and fleeting." One local M.P. agreed, cabling Ottawa to demand the extension of the B.C. tour to fourteen days. *The News-Advertiser* editorialised that anything less would result in observations "almost farcical in their incompleteness." Both the *Victoria Daily Times* and the *Vancouver Daily World* concurred. The Victoria paper criticized whoever "was crazy enough" to imagine B.C.'s virtues could be adequately assessed by "such very brief pilgrimages," and said the tour was a waste of money that would bring no good to the province. *The Daily World* was equally emphatic:

> We are inclined to think that the visits of the British farm delegates to this country are pleasant things for them, but that their usefulness stops there ... They have been wined and dined and rushed through the country as if they were on one of the Cook's famous personally-conducted tours, and outside the cities they have seen little or nothing of the Province. This sort of thing is a farce and no more money should be wasted in that way. If these people want excursions, let them pay for them.

The B.C. stay was not extended to two weeks. The Leacock party left Vancouver on 4 October, and after a "perilous" canoe crossing of the Fraser at Harrison arrived in Calgary on 6 October. The Cox party returned to Calgary, after being "wined and dined" at Mission, one day later.

In Alberta, the delegates returned to their reputation and duties as "practical men." Two delegates left the Leacock party at Calgary to visit the Chicago World's

Fair but the rest spent six full days escorted by NWMP contingents touring southern Alberta. At Cardston, they were driven around by Charles Card, but declined Zina Card's invitation to stay the night, felling obliged to use the tents provided by their police escort. At Mcleod, they spoke with Peigan chief Bill Plume and toured the area with Major Sam Steele, returning to Calgary on 11 October.

The Cox party remained two days at Calgary, a community which the Irish delegate declared to have "shops quite as good as those in Grafton Street in Dublin." This was followed by three days at Red Deer where they helped judge in several categories at the second annual Red Deer Agricultural Show. One of the Scottish delegates refused to believe that local oats weighed fifty pounds to the bushel, insisted on weighing a bushel himself, and found it to weigh fifty-one pounds. Another delegate left to visit the World's Fair, the remainder continuing on to Edmonton, where they visited the North Edmonton Agricultural Fair. The party left Edmonton on the morning of 17 October to retrace its path to Calgary and then to Winnipeg. A very specific detour was taken to Pelican Lake to visit the crofter communities there. The driver of the rig got lost for several hours between Brandon and Killarney. Some of the crofters were visited by the Scottish delegates, who pronounced them to be the only "grumblers" they had spoken to in Canada. The Cox party arrived in Winnipeg, their Western tour completed, on 21 October.

The Leacock party, reduced now to only three delegates, arrived in Winnipeg on 27 October, having accepted an offer from the Manitoba and North Western Rail Company to spend a week inspecting lands between Yorkton and Portage la Prairie. The delegates reported to H.H. Smith, the Dominion Lands Commissioner, and were interviewed by reporters from the *Manitoba Free Press*. They expressed a general consensus that Prince Albert, Red Deer, Edmonton and Qu'Appelle were the districts they would recommend most readily to prospective emigrants. All three of the remaining delegates in the Leacock party expressed concern over the reliance on wheat cultivation and urged more of a mixed-farming approach. Tom Pitt, from Devon, stated that most of the land he had seen in Canada was not so much farmed as "slobbered over". No such comments were made by any of the Cox party, the only sour note in their interview being a sarcastic reference to the Pelican Lake crofters by Scottish delegate Alex Fraser. At the Clarendon Hotel, before the delegates went their separate ways, the J.G. Cox group presented their guide with a copy of Stanley's two-volume *In Darkest Africa* as a token of their appreciation. The gift is certainly suggestive of the delegates' view of the explorations they had just completed.

Most of the British farmers returned to Eastern Canada via Chicago, taking the opportunity to visit the World's Fair. Several spent a week or two inspecting Ontario's agricultural prospects before calling at Ottawa for a final interview with the Minister or Deputy Minister of the Interior. Individually or in pairs, with their notebooks and their samples of grains, grasses and soils collected from the Western districts, the delegates returned to Britain, J.J. Guiry being the last to arrive home in December. In Britain their reports, in six separate booklets, were published in February 1894. The publication had been delayed in an attempt to obtain some of the Thomas Mills photographs. However, the Department of the Interior, distinctly annoyed that Mills was demanding the "highest market price," forwarded only a few of his photographs to London. None was finally included in the published booklets.

Again the High Commissioner and the Canadian agents expressed themselves delighted with the reports; again the booklets were widely distributed through the agricultural districts, and again there was no measurable increase in emigration figures. The depressed state of agriculture in both Britain and Canada in the early 1890s offered neither opportunity nor hope to prospective agricultural emigrants.

The new administration in Canada after 1896 did not repeat the invitation to representative British farmers that resulted in the tours of 1890 and 1893. The substantial emigration from Britain around the turn of the century was clearly not a consequence of the specialized travel literature produced by the farmer-delegates. Clearly, however, the one and a half million booklets distributed throughout the British Isles presented very favourable impressions of the Canadian West, and for many of the selected farmers, the tour of Canada proved to be a highlight of their careers. "Well pleased with the country," the delegates had certainly satisfied the hopes of their Canadian sponsors. ◆

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MARY SPEECHLY

A Life Of Service

By Angela Davis

Among the names of Western Canadian women who made major contributions to improving the lives of prairie women in the early years of the present century, those of such activists as Nellie McClung, Emily Murphy, Lillian Beynon Thomas, Francis Beynon, Irene Parlby and Cora Hind are well known. One who has not received her due share of attention is Mary Barrett Speechly.

There is a student residence named "Mary Speechly Hall" on the campus of the University of Manitoba, but few know who the real Mary Speechly was or why she had a building named after her. She was, in fact, a woman well deserving of memorials and one who holds an important place in the history of Canadian women. Not only was she a classics scholar, a musician and a professional photographer, but she was a leading activator of such early women's groups as the Agricultural Women's Association and the Women's Institute. She was also one of a number of progressive women who, in the 1930s, promoted birth control and started a family planning service in Winnipeg at a time when to be involved in such activity was a criminal offence.

Mary Speechly was born Mary Barrett in 1873 in London, England. Her father was a schoolmaster in Kensington and her mother a musician. Both had advanced views on the education of girls, sending Mary to a kindergarten from the age of six. In 1882, the family moved to Parkgate, Cheshire, on the appointment of her father as headmaster of a school for boys, Mostyn Hall. Mary was sent to a local school for girls but her father so disapproved of its "feeble" teaching that, in 1884, he enrolled her in his own school: she was one girl among eighty boys. Although she was denied access to classes in science, carpentry, higher mathematics and sport, she nevertheless enjoyed a much higher standard of education than most girls of her age might have expected to receive in the late Victorian period.

In 1889 she won a scholarship to University College, Liverpool. She described the college as "huge and dilapidated," with 5,000 students, most of whom were taking science courses. She enrolled in Arts where, out of twenty-five students, twelve were women. She took honours classics and general arts courses for the first year and then from 1890 to 1892 concentrated on classics, working at extra courses throughout the summer months. She graduated with her B.A. in June of 1892. In September of the same year, on a scholarship of £100, she left for Newnham College, Cambridge. There she planned to do graduate work in classics. Cambridge did not, at that time, grant degrees to women, although it did allow them to sit the Tripos examination. Special arrangements were therefore made for her to do work at Cambridge which would be acceptable for her to receive an M.A. from Liverpool. Her academic standing was obviously without question.

Unfortunately, financial problems incurred by the death of her father a month after she arrived at Newnham, meant that she could only stay at Cambridge for two years instead of the required three. She returned home and took up teaching in order to earn a living. In spite of this, however, she was able to continue her university programme in classics, completing her M.A. in 1895.

In the same year she married Henry Speechly, the medical officer at her father's old school. Recognizing that her university training had not adequately prepared her for the tasks expected of a late Victorian housewife, she enrolled in one of the Domestic Science (Home Economics) classes which had originally been organized by her father for the young women of the neighbourhood. She retained close ties with the world of academe, however, acting as secretary of both the local Education Committee and the University Extension Committee. In 1896, her daughter Margaret was born, and in 1901, for reasons which are not completely clear, although "the urge of an Imperial impulse" is mentioned by one source, Henry Speechly decided to emigrate to Canada. He left England eight months ahead of his wife and daughter, and established himself as a general practitioner in the Manitoba town of Pilot Mound. Whether due to the fact that his practice led him to an early understanding of prairie economics or whether he was only too well aware of the "culture shock" awaiting his wife, he very wisely suggested that she take a course in photography. There was, apparently, no professional photographer in the town. By

Winnipeg Free Press

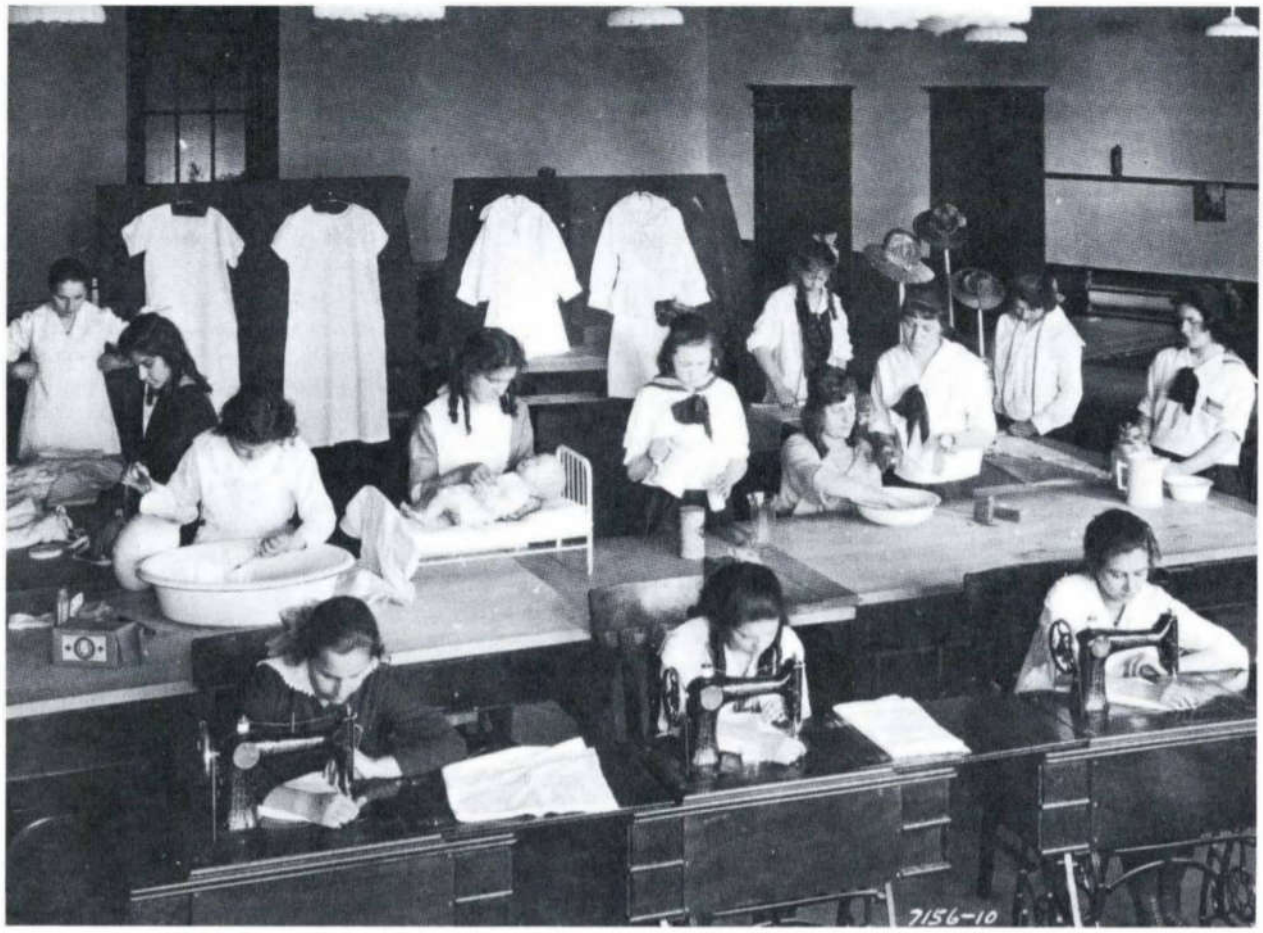
Mary Speechly in middle age. She remained active until her death at age 95.

1902, when Mary Speechly arrived in Pilot Mound with Margaret, she was proficient in all aspects of taking and developing photographs and found this occupation invaluable both for financial reasons and as a means of meeting local people.

Life was not easy for the Speechlys, and certainly very different to anything Mary Speechly had experienced before. There was no indoor water supply, no electricity, no telephone: not until many years later did she admit to her children that she had "hated" her first exposure to prairie life. This experience was, of course, similar to that of many prairie women. The lack of household equipment and the loneliness were the common lot of rural wives. For Mary Speechly some of the difficulties may in fact have helped in warding off the sense of isolation: the drinking water pump was shared with one neighbour, the softer washing water was collected from another and the house was frequently full of people. When patients came to see Dr. Speechly, whose office was in his home, it was not unusual for their families to accompany them. Margaret Speechly Stansfield has described how, more often than not, they had to be given meals: "whole families might be left for hours while the husbands went off to the stores to shop or to have a yarn at the livery barn which was the social centre for men ... people thought nothing of staying for hours at the doctor's or of accepting meals while they waited — after all, there was no other place to go, except the local hotel which was not suitable for the sick." It is not to be wondered at that Mary Speechly held her Home Economics training in high regard and was to become a leading advocate of the Home Economics Societies and the practical home management courses run by the Manitoba Agricultural College.

There has been a certain amount of criticism in recent historical writing of the groups and organizations which women joined in the early years of the present century. Some of these groups have been described as supporting the rise of "maternal" feminism and thus deflecting, or at least delaying, the development of "true" feminism. The ideals of the early Canadian women's movement of the 1880s were overcome, it is argued, by "an upper-class concept of social order and a maternal definition of women's calling." Organizations such as the National Council for Women of Canada, founded in 1893, have been taken to task for remaining "aloof from issues pertaining to women's rights." It is true, with hindsight, that many of the decisions and attitudes of these early groups seem conservative and tentative, and yet, in the context of their time and in parts of the country far from centres of political and intellectual activity, it is hard to see how they could have been otherwise. Following this line of reasoning, it is possible to suggest that "maternal," or "social," feminism came out of a longer feminist tradition than the more radical movements and followed an evolution towards women's rights based on immediate personal and emotional considerations rather than the more remote one of political equality. In the context of the Canadian prairie of the early twentieth century, it can therefore be suggested that women's organizations, while certainly not ignoring political issues, played their major role in developing a sense of community and in alleviating the sense of isolation and inadequacy felt by many rural women.

In the particular case of Pilot Mound, class does not seem to have been much of an issue at this time, although as a number of historians have pointed out, rural class structure is an area which has not yet received sufficient study to reach any conclusions. All women, whether the wives of farmers, teachers or doctors, worked hard. Mary Speechly's workload involved not only the "bringing in and out" of water, the filling and trimming of lamps, the housework and cooking



Manitoba Archives, Lewis Foote Collection

Mary Speechly stressed the importance of domestic education. Here a class of girls studies domestic science at Winnipeg's William Whyte School in the 1920s.

(when this might include providing for patients as well as family), but also assisting her husband with ill patients, sterilizing instruments and generally looking after the organizational side of Henry Speechly's practice. As well as caring for two Canadian-born sons, she educated her daughter until she was fourteen, carried on her photography business in what was called the "Gallery," and was an active member of the local Anglican Church. She played the organ regularly and acted as secretary-treasurer for both local and district Church Councils. But her involvement with more far-reaching women's groups can be dated from 1907 when she and five other women were asked, by the local farmers' Agricultural Society, to join its board. Their first task was to organize the women's and children's sections of the summer fair. From then on, her association with the various extension services of the government's Agricultural Department and the Manitoba Agricultural College continued until the 1930s.

The importance of the Agricultural College for the farming community and in the lives of rural women in the early years of this century cannot be overstated. Although the Women's Institute movement was well under way in Ontario, and individual groups had formed in Morris and Valley River, it was not until the Home Economics Department of the College became involved that the movement really got started in Manitoba. In 1910, two women members of the newly created department, with full support of local Agricultural Societies, toured twenty-three communities throughout the province. The result was that seventeen Household Science Associations, as they were first called, were formed and in 1911, at the Agricultural College, one hundred delegates met to formalize their organization. The name was changed to Home Economics Societies and the object of the organization was to present and discuss "live, timely subjects" and to "encourage sociability among its members and to work for the social, moral and educational betterment of the home, the community and the nation."

Obviously, this was not something that Mary Speechly, with her Home Economics training, could ignore. Like Adelaide Hoodless in Ontario, she was a firm believer in practical education for both boys and girls. That this, for girls, meant Home Economics, could only be regarded as logical in the context of

H.J. Metcalfe photo

Winnipeg as Mary Speechly first knew it: Portage Avenue, with Eaton's department store on the right.

women's lives on the prairies in the first decades of the present century. Through the Women's Institutes (as the Societies were called after 1919) and the travelling Home Economics advisors, women not only received practical advice on how best to cope with their small houses, their large families, their lack of household equipment and the feeding of large numbers of people during threshing time, but they also received information on diet and health and learned how to budget their limited incomes. Probably the most valuable element of the whole organization, however, was that women were able to share their experiences with others. The Pilot Mound Home Economics Society was formed in 1912, with Mary Speechly as president. Like other newly formed groups, it started working for better education, for better health care, for women's suffrage and for recognition of problems specifically affecting rural women. Not least among the latter was the creation of Rest Rooms for women in the small market towns. No doubt this lessened the number of patients' families waiting in the Speechly living room.

By the time the Speechly family moved to Winnipeg in 1916, Mary Speechly had made her presence felt at the Agricultural College. In 1915, at the Annual Convention of the Home Economics Societies, she was the prime mover for changes in the paternalistic structure of the Societies' administration. From the beginning of the organization's founding, this had been entirely in the hands of the Director of the Home Economics Department Extension Service, Mr. S.T. Newton, and the President of the College, Principal Black. With pressure from the women delegates, a compromise was reached whereby an advisory board of six women was established; four elected from delegates and two appointed by the Minister of Agriculture. Looking back, Mary Speechly said, "it is amusing to recall the heart-searchings this request created in official circles, and with what fear and trepidation it was granted!" Mary Speechly's work with the Home Economics Societies might now appear, in the eyes of those critical of social feminism, as conservative and non-progressive. But at the time it was considered practical, even if some viewed it as radical. In her short history of the Women's Institutes of Manitoba, written in 1934, Mary Speechly said: "It was a new idea in rural parts for women to sink differences in creed, politics or language and to take collective action for the education of themselves, and for the good of their communities. Those thrust into leadership were diffident of their powers and quite a little nervous of how their 'sisters' would react to leadership under these new conditions." Whether the differences were solved as easily as she implied is a moot point, but the collective intention was certainly there.

Mary Speechly, her daughter and two sons moved to Winnipeg in 1916, following Henry Speechly's departure for England as a war-time medical officer. The change in living standards was immediate — not that the Speechlys ever believed in ostentatious living. But Winnipeg had electric light and running water, and it took some time for Mary to stop saying "Isn't this water wonderful!" In the city, Mary Speechly immediately became involved in organizations other than the Women's Institutes, although she remained on its advisory board until 1936. During the war, she worked for the Red Cross, and later for the Central Volunteer Bureau and the Women's Canadian Club. It was as a member of the latter that she became involved in social relief during the 1930s and observed the added problems incurred by the depression to parents of large families. She subsequently became one of the founders of the Family Planning Association of Manitoba.

While her husband held a position of public responsibility as the Provincial Coroner, Mary Speechly was one of a small group of women involved in activities which, under Section 207c of the Criminal Code of Canada, were unlawful and highly controversial. The birth control movement in Manitoba started in March, 1932, with the formation of a study group. Members of the group investigated the progress of birth control societies in Britain, the United States and other parts of Canada, surveyed the need for such a society in Manitoba, and estimated the amount of support that might be expected from local physicians. Subsequently, following an organizational meeting in October, 1933, the Winnipeg Birth Control Society was founded in January 1934, with Mary Speechly as its first president.

It is obvious from the committee reports (medical, educational and visiting) presented to the first Annual General Meeting that the Society was well organized and did not seek to hide its aims from the general public. Some of its early meetings were held in committee rooms of the Manitoba Legislative Building and records of meetings were kept in the normal manner. It was recognized, however, that any adverse publicity was detrimental to the Society's success. The education committee thus advocated "working very quietly, especially avoiding newspaper publicity." This did not prevent committee members, "assisted by Mrs. Speechly," from giving talks to such groups as the Jewish Council of Women, the Women's Group of the First Baptist Church, the women of the Caledonian Society and various women's labour groups. The Society received unofficial support from a number of doctors in Winnipeg and rural Manitoba, and practical help from Canada's leading birth control advocate, A.R. Kaufman of Kitchener, Ontario, in the form of visiting nurses and contraceptive supplies. It also received the gratitude of those members of the public who took advantage of its services. At the same time, however, Society members had to contend with a considerable amount of animosity over what was then an extremely controversial issue. On occasion, Society meetings had to be held in private homes in order to avoid angry opponents of their aims. Mary Speechly referred to this in 1967 when, following an invitation to attend a function at the Manitoba Legislative Building, she said, "Well, I'm finally respectable. I've been invited to tread the hallowed halls where they once tried to throw us out." The history of the birth control movement in Manitoba has yet to be written, but when it is the place of Mary Speechly within it will be prominent. As her co-founders said, she *was* the Birth Control Society.

While her commitment to furthering the acceptance of family planning can be seen as her major contribution to improving the lives of Manitoba women, she also retained her interests in Home Economics and the problems of rural life. Her initial involvement with the Manitoba Agricultural College led to her appointment, in 1924, to its Council and then, in 1933, to the Board of Governors of the University of Manitoba, a position she retained until her retirement in 1946. It could possibly be argued that Mary Speechly was a stereotypical "club woman," and thus one of those middle-class women described as retarding progress towards equality. On the other hand, it might be suggested that there are different paths leading towards the same goal. In her letters and other writings, it is clear that Mary Speechly thought of herself as a feminist. She believed, however, that more could be achieved through practical means and diplomacy, and with what journalist Jessica Swail described as "quiet composure," than through more militant or radical measures.

Mary Speechly died in 1968, at the age of ninety-five. She was certainly deserving of having a building named after her in her own province. She is also worthy of claiming a place, not only in the history of Manitoba women, but in the wider context of Canadian women's history. It was through the development of the various organizations which arose in the early years of the century that women on the prairies were able to draw together and find a forum through which they could voice their collective concerns. Mary Speechly played an important role in that process. ◆

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Mother England's Bad Boys

By J.M. Bumsted

PAINTING THE MAP RED
Canada and the South African War 1899-1902

By Carman Miller. McGill-Queen's University Press and the Canadian War Museum, Montreal, Kingston and Ottawa, 1993. 544 pp., illus. $44.95.

One of the least notorious of monuments in many a Canadian community is that commemorating Canada's participation in the British Empire's South African War between 1899 and 1902. The monument outside Province House in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, is physically fairly typical. It consists of a single larger-than-life soldier defending a dismantled gun with his bayonet at the ready. The helmeted figure is young and beardless, his uniform markedly old-fashioned. One of the side inscriptions on the pedestal invokes Canada's loyalty to the Empire, the other cites Paardeberg and lists the names of two Island soldiers — Alfred Riggs and Roland Dennis Taylor — who died there. Like hundreds of other copper and bronze monuments across the country, this one has oxidized into a bright green (technically called verdigris) not originally produced by the sculptor. The war thus commemorated is ill understood and long forgotten by most Canadians. Carman Miller's extensive study, however, offers Canadians an opportunity to correct this neglect.

The Boer War, as the war in South Africa is often called, was the major military involvement of Canadians in the century between the War of 1812 and the Great War of 1914-1918. Neither the Wolseley expedition of 1870 nor the North West Campaign of 1885, much less the dispatch of voyageurs to the Sudan, really counted for very much in military terms. As Miller's analysis unfolds, it become increasingly clear that the Canadian participation in South Africa — like the war itself — in many ways anticipated and served as a dress rehearsal for the Great War.

Equally apparent is the consistency over time of many aspects of the Canadian military tradition which emerges almost full-blown from the war. Less obvious are the many parallels to the Spanish-American War recently fought by the Americans, and Miller does not make much of them.

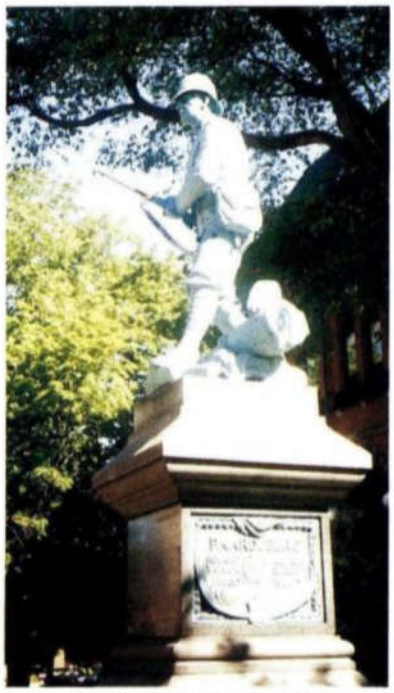
The political leadup to Canadian involvement in the Boer War was certainly instructive of how the nation might react to being drawn into any major imperial conflict. The political alignment in 1899 over the war was very nearly classic. Conservatives, especially Anglo-Protestant Tories, supported Canadian involvement in the war wholeheartedly. Many Liberals objected to imperial adventurism, and Quebec was distinctly unenthusiastic. The strength of the support for the war effort of the Protestant clergy in Canada was quite marked, as it would be in 1914. The major articulated opposition in Canada to South African involvement consisted — as a generation later — of French-Canadians and organized labour. In the imperial rhetoric and conscious employment of crudely manipulative hate propaganda, the supporters of the Empire looked forward rather than backward. So too did the employment of on-the-scene war correspondents, who reported regularly to newly-emerging mass-circulation newspapers, although there was little attempt to control the press in the course of this conflict.

From the outset, the Canadian government attempted to keep its contingents together and identifiably Canadian, while the British sought integration into the larger army. Gradually the British won this struggle in the field, although the Canadians maintained some facade of control administratively. In any event, the Canadian uniform was distinctive. It included a white cross-belt designed by J.W. Oliver and a large three-inch badge displaying an imperial crown with a maple leaf reading CANADA. Finding good officers was not easy, for Canada or for the British. More than one of the British general staff, like General Sir Redvers Buller, had served in Canada. Most of Canada's officers lacked both experience and ability, and, as would be the case in the two World Wars, successful officers would best emerge in the field. Many found service to Canada *and* Great Britain extremely difficult.

If there was a certain predictability to the Canadian political response to the British call to arms, there was also a certain consistency about the pattern of the soldiers themselves. Canada's was a military tradition of citizen soldiers organized at best into a part-time militia. In 1812 — as again in 1870 and 1885 — the militia had succeeded in convincing

itself of its value, indeed even making a positive virtue of its inexperience and lack of professionalism. This celebration of the value of the undisciplined citizen soldier continued into South Africa — and beyond. Part of the danger here was that undisciplined troops, while they might die bravely enough, often died more readily than skilled veterans. This sad fact was true in South Africa, although it would take the Great War to bring the point fully home. As the author constantly reminds us, Canadians did not take well to tight discipline on or off the battlefield, becoming particularly unruly the moment they stopped moving. Canadian soldiers drank, pilfered, looted, and rioted their way across South Africa, and then they drank and rioted their way back home to and within Canada when their service was up. Canadian troops built up a considerable reputation in the Boer War as "the biggest thieves in the Army." They were also a highly literate crew who wrote home often and were not always careful to edit out their less desirable exploits. To some extent necessity was the mother of invention. Horse-theft became essential to the mounted soldiers, since the mortality rate among Canadian horses in South Africa was absolutely fierce. Looting was mainly for food and comfort, although one squadron sent to protect a gold mine not only reclaimed gold ready for processing but "started the hydraulic engine which worked the mill and started to stamp some more ore." The picture that emerges of the Canadian soldier of the Boer War is a familiar one still with us today: brave, hard-living, irreverent, and quick to complain.

Painting the Map Red is an exceptionally thorough and detailed account of the Canadian involvement in the Boer War. It is part of a recent trend in military history, which combines the traditional narrative of the campaign with social analysis of the composition of the various contingents and a discussion of the dynamics of the home front. The Boer War lends itself well to such a comprehensive treatment. The author identifies and distinguishes five chronologically progressive contingents of volunteers recruited in Canada for South Africa, as well as a substantial support staff, including a medical corps of doctors and nurses and a unit of Canadian irregulars. The decision to



The Charlottetown memorial.

treat each contingent in its turn occasionally produces some repetition and confusion in the chronology and narrative, but on the whole it serves the author and the reader quite admirably. Each contingent in the war was quite different, and its history quite distinctive.

The first contingent of volunteers for South Africa was deliberately intended to be "representative" of Canada. It was recruited regionally across the country as distinct companies, with a serious effort made at bilingualism. This First Contingent stood at 1,039 when it assembled in Quebec in October 1899, led by the pipe band of Montreal's 5th Battalion of Royal Scots. The typical volunteer of the First Contingent was young, urban, and low-paid, searching either for adventure or material advantage or both. Many soldiers did quite well in bonuses from their local governments or public subscription, and some were even kept on their employer's payroll during their absence. The public response as the troops converged on Quebec was enthusiastic. The contingent consisted of a battery of field artillery, a squadron of mounted rifles, and a battalion of infantry. It trained on the thirty-day voyage to South Africa aboard a congested and clapped-out vessel, the *Sardinian*. The Canadians were soon thrown into the heat of the fray, and casualties were heavy at the Battle of Paardeberg in mid-February 1900, many incurred in a suicidal charge led by a crazed British officer. As was typical, disease hit harder than enemy bullets. The contingent was reduced to 611 by April 1900, and most soldiers (61 percent of the remaining effectives) refused to re-engage at the conclusion of their year of service.

While the First Contingent was on its way, the Second Contingent was recruited over the winter of 1899-1900. There was much disagreement over the makeup of this contingent, which eventually included 750 mounted rifles in two squadrons and 539 in the Royal Canadian Field Artillery. A "Western Rough Rider" image (imitating Teddy Roosevelt and ultimately hearkening back to Charles Boulton's mounted scouts of 1885, who had probably been the first to wear stetsons in the field) was cultivated, although it was not entirely accurate. But everyone associated the Second Contingent with cowboy hats and spurs. These units again were young and urban in origin, although the second battalion was recruited in Western Canada, especially from the North West Mounted Police. The three separate units of this contingent never served together as a Canadian force.

Although C Battery (the artillery) fought in the relief of Mafeking, most of this contingent spent their time doing garrison duty and battling with enteric fever. Casualties were heaviest among the horses. Only 51 of the original 751 horses brought with the Second Contingent survived. Again, few of the troops chose to renew their service when the year had expired.

The Third Contingent left Canada in March of 1900. This unit was a relatively homogeneous group of Western horsemen privately recruited under the auspices of Lord Strathcona, Canada's High Commissioner to the United Kingdom. Readers will have to recall for themselves that Lord Strathcona had begun life as Donald A. Smith, Hudson's Bay trader and the man who had helped negotiate the settlement of the Riel uprising, for the author does not identify Strathcona except as the Canadian High Commissioner. Sam Steele was in command here of a force that held temporary status in the British army. Lord Strathcona's Horse was a unit more British, Anglican, rural, Western, and older than its predecessors. It also contained precious few who had previous military (including militia) experience. Its "rough rider" image was legitimate, however, although there was some disagreement about its qualities. Sam Steele described his men as "the very pick of the cowboy, cowpuncher, rancher, policemen and ex-policemen of the Territories and British Columbia," while other observers saw them as composed of "useless ruffians, the lame, halt and blind," the "rovers and adventurers of no fixed occupation who always turn up when there are heads to be broken."

In the public eye, this was a Western Canada *corps d'elite,* with well-tailored uniforms and distinctive Western stetsons making it particularly photogenic. The Strathconas also experienced high casualty rates among their horses, and were employed mainly in scouting. Steele was continually unhappy about the lack of open battle, although his men saw some action at Lyndenburg in September-October of 1900 before being dispersed among British units.

The Fourth Contingent of Canadian volunteers was perhaps the most fascinating. The South African Constabulary, a force of para-military policemen, was recruited beginning in late 1900. The Constabulary was under the command of Major-General Robert Baden-Powell (perhaps better known as the founder of another paramilitary organization, the Boy Scouts). Among its numbers were 1,248 Canadians distributed among the Constabulary's four divisions. These volunteers had little military experience and many (especially those from the East) did not ride. They did not enjoy their time in South Africa. Fears expressed in Canada that this force was recruited mainly to supply emigrants proved fairly groundless. More than half (720 of 1,208 actually in service) were discharged before their time was up, 133 of them for "cause", and most returned home. Many complained of discriminatory treatment against Canadians by officious British officers.

A Fifth Contingent was the 2nd Canadian Mounted Rifles, raised in late 1901 and consisting of 901 officers and men. This group was more experienced, and included a number of South African veterans. Many were farmers, and a majority were native-born Canadians. This unit experienced heavy casualties at Harts River. Another 2,036 Canadians recruited for service just before peace was declared arrived in South Africa too late to fight. They tended to be older and very inexperienced.

There were also large numbers of Canadians in several units of irregulars, including "Gat" Howard's "Canadian Scouts". Howard was an American who had come to Canada to demonstrate Gatling machine guns during the North West Rebellion. He had remained in the Canadian West, served with the Second Contingent, and then recruited a small force of scouts from among the Canadian veterans. Howard was killed in combat early in 1901. Among the non-combatant Canadians, there were several interesting groups. One was the volunteer nursing sisters, headed by Georgina Fane Pope. Officially they could not administer to British troops, since by British regulation non-British medical personnel were forbidden to do so. The concern apparently was about "inferior training". So much for the Empire. There also was the

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five-man postal detachment sent with the Second Contingent to service Canadian mail to and from South Africa. Their major piece of equipment was a rubber date-stamp labelled "Canadian Contingent En Route South Africa." After their arrival, they cut out the "En Route" and just kept stamping.

The South African War was fought by large numbers of people we know from other places. The first British commander-in-chief in South Africa, Sir Redvers Buller, had been part of the Wolseley expedition to Red River in 1870. Both Rudyard Kipling and Winston Churchill were leading war correspondents, while Sir Robert Baden-Powell was a British general. Roger Casement helped devise a scheme to cut off arms smuggled through Portuguese territory, using Strathcona's Horse. Fortunately, the mission was cancelled when it was mysteriously betrayed to the enemy, no one apparently suspecting Casement, the premier "traitor" of the First World War. Sam Steele was involved with Lord Strathcona's Horse and the Constabulary. Other Canadians participated whose names have been virtually forgotten, such as "Gat" Howard and Georgina Fane Pope.

War may be hell, but some wars are better than others. One officer returning from South Africa was asked by a small boy at the Ottawa railway station, "Did you have a good war?" The officer answered, "Yes, I had a good war." A fair number of those Canadians who participated in the Boer War would probably have concurred. Whether or not this war was a "good" one, in the expert hands of Carman Miller it has become a fascinating one. Even those who do not normally read military history will enjoy this book. ◆

J.M. Bumsted is Professor of history at St. John's College, University of Manitoba, and the author of a two-volume history of Canada published by the Oxford University Press.

Toronto in the Jazz Age

By Robert Saunders

TOO GOOD TO BE TRUE
Toronto in the 1920s

By Randall White. Dundurn Press, Toronto, 1993. 244 pp., illus. $16.99.

It was all the fault of a certain C.S. Clark. It was he who in 1898 wrote *Of Toronto the Good* and so saddled the city with a reputation for sanctimonious dullness that persisted for many years.

It was not, it must be admitted, altogether unjustified. To take one example, Toronto was a byword throughout the country for its strict observance of the "Lord's Day". Sunday was a day of unrelieved gloom in many middle-class households at the turn of the century. No games, however innocent, were allowed and anything so secular as the reading of a novel was unthinkable. There were even instances of the police arresting children for playing in the streets on Sunday. Church-going was the only diversion allowed.

By the 1920s this pietism was in retreat but clear traces of it lingered. As Randall White points out in *Too Good to be True,* there had always been a certain amount of hypocrisy about it. Torontonians might boast about the purity of their civic politics and speak scornfully of the machine-run politics of some other North American cities, but the fact was that Toronto, virtually from its beginning, had been governed by the militantly Protestant Orange Order. H.C. Hocken, writing in 1923, noted that of all the mayors elected in the city since 1834, only 13 had not been Orangemen.

There were even uglier charges that could be levelled against Toronto in the 1920s. There was, for instance, an openly-expressed contempt among Anglo-Saxons of all classes of aliens and "foreign" immigrants. One of the illustrations in White's book is an advertisement for a 1920 "sensational comedy" at the Alexandra Theatre called *East Is West.* It depicts what can only be described as a grossly insulting caricature of a Chinese youth. As White says, it is doubtful if many Chinese Torontonians went to see the "comedy sensation" and if they did, they probably would not have found it at all amusing.

Complacency and bigotry are prevalent in most large cities and it is perhaps not surprising to find these attitudes existing in Toronto. What is more startling is to discover from White's book that there was apparently a serious problem with cocaine and morphine in the Toronto of the early 1920s. We usually think of the misuse of drugs in

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Canada as a phenomenon that began in the 1960s. Toronto knew about it forty years before that. In February of 1920 a headline in the *Globe* read "Charges Drug Traffic Among Children" and in December of the same year another article in the *Globe* headed "Gathering In Of Dopesters", described how "the Morality Department has spread a net over the Chinese colony which, it claims, is the centre of the drug trafficking which has been going on in an extensive way". Here again, the ethnic prejudice should be noted.

It would, of course, be quite wrong to assume that everything about the Toronto of the 1920s was deplorable. It was a bustling, exciting, hopeful time. Torontonians took legitimate pride in their city's newfound prosperity and, although some disapproved, most of the younger people relished the sense of joyous abandon that characterized the Jazz Age. Besides that, Toronto was in the forefront of many of the technological experiments that were opening up new horizons.

The difficulty was that the new outlook that found expression in these social and scientific advances often came into jarring collision with older ways of thought. The third decade of the century was one of those times that recur so often in history when one age is dying and another is struggling to be born. On the one hand, there was a nostalgic looking back to the pre-1914 days which were fondly remembered as years of serenity and civility when God was in his heaven and Britain still kept a motherly eye on her former colony.

White has no patience with this kind of thinking. He refers with contempt to what he calls "a colonial obsession with the British Empire" and he uses Casa Loma, Sir Henry Pellatt's grandiose folly, as a symbol of this outmoded and discredited colonialism. It could be argued that White exaggerates the stultifying effects of this imperial influence, but it is beyond dispute that a slavish imitation of British models often led to a derivative, pallid literature, to sterility of thought and to social stagnation.

White's sympathies are with those of the other camp, those who had, as it were, the future in their bones and who believed that Canada was able to carve out its own destiny. Among these he includes the artists who made up the Group of Seven, Agnes Macphail, Morley Callaghan and, interestingly enough, Harold Innis.

For the past quarter century or so, academic writers have tended to be dismissive of Innis. They have viewed his studies in economic history as largely misguided and as separated in a disconcerting way from his later work in the theory of communications. Recently, however, historians such as Graeme Patterson have perceived a relevance and a continuity of thought in the books Innis wrote that earlier critics had denied existed. Whatever one may think of his work, there is no doubt that Innis possessed a formidable and original mind and the fact that a writer of popular history such as White devotes several pages to his career is an indication that his reputation is again on the rise.

White is an engaging and zestful writer and he has peopled his book with a cast of fascinating characters. They range from Tommy Church, the aggressively Orange mayor of Toronto, who, White believes, "stood for so much that was bad in the old Toronto the Good", to such forgotten worthies as that incomparable artist on the French horn, Cosmo Latrullo of the Governor-General's Body Guard, and Sergeant-Major Joseph MacNamara, the member for Riverdale at Queen's Park, who campaigned against the Ontario Temperance Act with the heartfelt cry: "I want my beer!"

Always present in the background are ordinary folk going about their business, watching baseball at Hanlan's Point on Toronto Island, strolling along the boardwalk at Sunnyside, shopping at Eaton's or Simpson's, travelling to work on those clanking street-cars, keeping house and bringing up their children. It was men and women such as these that an earlier historian of Toronto, George Glazebrook, had in mind when he wrote that although the utterances of the strident bigots were noised abroad as the voice of Toronto, "the moderates of the day were as inconspicuous as moderates incline to be and many quiet people pursued their gentle paths".

White has done extensive research in the files of newspapers of the period and his book is not only racily-written and entertaining but is also worth reading by the serious student. *Too Good to be True* is a welcome addition to the growing number of popular histories of Canadian cities and it deserves a wide readership.

As well as news photos, White has used newspaper advertisements of the era for illustrations and these often give us illuminating glimpses into the social life of the time. An ad in 1924 for McClary's Electric Range has pictures of a woman enjoying an afternoon of bridge with her friends and then arriving home to find her roast cooking in the oven. "And so home to a dinner ready to serve," reads the caption.

A Canadian Steamship Lines ad in June of 1926 informs us that the grand opening of the dancing season is about to start on that "splendid steamer" the *Chippewa*. "Bring your best girl and enjoy a real treat among the fresh sea breezes," the ad urges. The price for the trip to Niagara and back — six hours in all — was one dollar. Ten years later, as I well remember, the old *Chippewa* was making the run from the harbour near Front Street across the water to Toronto Island. (Or was this the same *Chippewa*? To a young boy it certainly seemed a "splendid steamer".)

Perhaps most fascinating of all is a 1929 Canadian General Electric advertisement. It shows a family gathered round one of those big, wooden box-like contraptions that usually housed a radio in those days. Only this one is different. It is evidently not a radio, after all, because in the upper half there is a small screen on which appears the head and shoulders of a young woman. According to the ad, we are expected to believe that "we shall sit comfortably by our own fireside and 'look in' as well as 'listen in' to the entertainment of a continent". Nor, we are told, is this "just a vision of the future". It had already arrived.

This fantastic invention had been given a name with a curious, hybrid Greek-Latin derivation which translated as "seeing from far off". It was called television. ◆

Robert Saunders, raised and educated in Toronto, now lives in Winnipeg, but occasionally dreams of his home town.

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They Died at Lundy's Lane

By Ian McCulloch

THE BATTLE OF LUNDY'S LANE
On the Niagara in 1814

By Donald E. Graves. The Nautical and Aviation Publishing Company of America, Baltimore, Maryland, 1993. 342 pp., illus. $24.95.

When asked if he would write a book on the battle of Waterloo in 1815, the Duke of Wellington reputedly expressed astonishment. "Write a history of a battle?" snorted the Iron Duke. "One might as well write a history of a ball!"

Later in the same century, a Union staff officer whose corps had just borne the brunt of Pickett's charge at Gettysburg wrote:

> A full account of the battle as it was will never, can never, be made. Who could sketch the charges, the constant fighting of the bloody panorama! It is not possible ... a history, just, comprehensive, complete, will never be written. By-and-by, out of the chaos of trash and falsehood that newspapers hold, out of the disjointed mass of reports, out of the traditions and tales that come down from the field, some eye that never saw the battle will select, and some pen will write what will be named the history.

Nevertheless, some 175 years later, Donald E. Graves' pen has produced an excellent account of a battle that took place on Canadian soil near Niagara Falls on 25 July 1814. The Battle of Lundy's Lane, as it is now commonly known, was fought between an American army, commanded by Major-General Jacob Brown, and a British army, commanded by Lieutenant-General Gordon Drummond. It was one of the most bitter battles ever fought on the North American continent and Graves has succeeded admirably in bringing it to life.

Graves notes in his preface that "it took about six hours to fight the battle of Lundy's Lane" but six years for him to write the book. His research and scholarship are impeccable, and what started for him as a detailed analysis of a Napoleonic-period military action fought in Canada, was transformed in the telling to a human account of "soldiers in battle". Echoing John Keegan's sentiments in *The Face of Battle* Graves writes:

> This [transformation] was to be expected for, in war, it is the human element that is always the most interesting, most unchanging, and most important. Both [armies] possessed their proper allotment of heroes and cowards, dullards and sages, and simple men just trying to do their duty. Although the soldiers of 1814 are far removed from their modern counterparts as concerns tactics, weapons and uniforms, in terms of hopes and fears, and aspirations they are much the same.

Graves' book is controversial, not due to any subjective analysis or findings, but due to the nature of the battle itself. It was an unplanned encounter, an engagement in which two armies unexpectedly made contact, fought desperately, and fed continual reinforcements into the fight. Because it continued well into the night, a most unusual event in those times, and because both forces withdrew after the fighting ceased, the events of the action and its outcome were bound to become controversial. Both sides claimed victory.

Graves favours the Americans' claim to tactical victory for they took the hill, the key to the British position, and captured the British guns, holding them against repeated counter-attacks. General Brown's subsequent decision to retreat from the ground his American regulars had fought so hard for, and the confusion of their withdrawal, resulted in "the proofs of his triumph", the coveted British artillery, being left behind. This allowed his opponent, General Drummond, also to claim tactical victory. According to Graves, however, neither the battle "nor indeed the [Niagara] campaign, [had] any real impact on the outcome of the war". He writes:

> This is not surprising, as the campaign itself was not based on any clear strategic aim. It had begun almost as an afterthought, a suggestion by Secretary of War Armstrong to Brown that he keep his army occupied until [Admiral] Chauncey had naval superiority on Lake Ontario by crossing the Niagara, advancing to the Chippewa, and being "governed by circumstances either in stopping there or going further".

Strategy and tactics aside, Graves narrates a complete account of the battle in a highly readable style. He acknowledges the help provided in this by one of his colleagues, Ben Greenhous, who fell "upon my prose like a wolf upon the fold". Graves' notes on the terminology of the period are neither pedantic nor pedestrian, the accompanying maps are perfectly placed and executed so that the most inexperienced military history neophyte can follow along and his eye-witness accounts are intuitively chosen, each ringing true.

Graves has actually imposed something resembling order on the chaotic battle of Lundy's Lane, fought mostly in the dark. He has organized "the disjointed mass of reports", has sifted out the incidents that did not contribute to the final result, has debunked some of the controversies and legends rather than just reporting them and, most importantly, has recognized that every general was not candid, not every report complete, nor every description accurate.

If Lundy's Lane accomplished anything for the Americans, it was to restore the fighting reputation of the American regular army which had been tarnished until then by setbacks and humiliating defeats in the war. Graves goes as far to say that "the birth of the modern, professional U.S. Army occurred, not at Valley Forge in 1777-1778, but along the Niagara in 1814."

Graves also takes square aim at the great Canadian legend that prevailed throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that the War of 1812 was "a heroic contest that cast 'British' North Americans against superior numbers in a desperate struggle to preserve their independence and institutions".

"What many Canadians often conveniently overlook," he writes, "is that the hardest fighting in both the battle and the campaign was done by British regulars, who also suffered the heaviest casualties. Furthermore, also forgotten was that there were Canadians on both sides at Lundy's Lane."

What is perhaps the most interesting observation of the entire book is Graves' assertion that "there were fewer differences among men, particularly between Americans and Canadians, in 1814 than there are today". This stems from the fact that the contending forces at this bloody battle shared a common language, a common heritage, a common organization, and "an uncommon obstinacy in combat." That is something we all could reflect upon in this age of the "New World Disorder" when discussing the dismantlement of the armed forces. ◆

Lieutenant-Colonel Ian McCulloch is Commanding Officer of the The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) of Canada, Montreal, Quebec.

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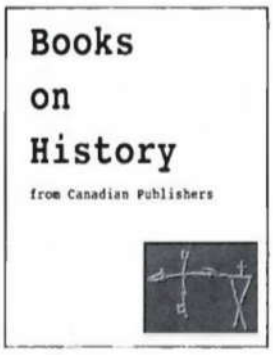

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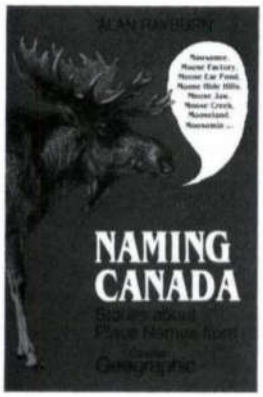

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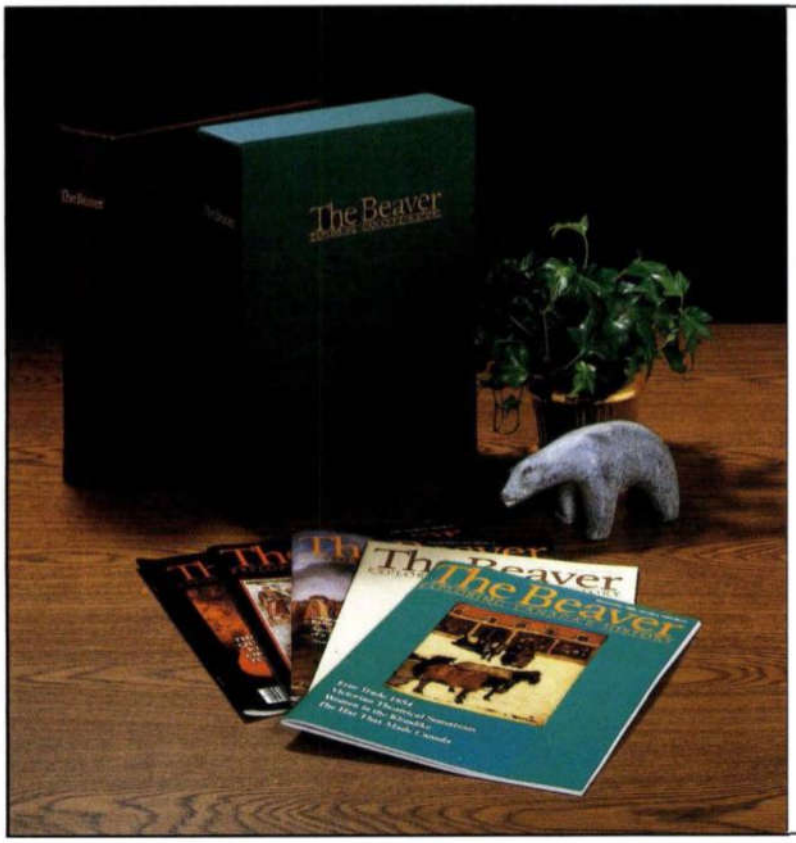

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How about a great prime minister? Laurier, Borden, Diefenbaker, Pearson ... But who says a great Canadian has to be a politician ... or a man? You might want to nominate Agnes Macphail or k.d. lang. You might choose Chief Dan George or Henri Bourassa as the Great Canadian of our time.

To make your nomination (or nominations — up to five) just list the names with brief reasons why and send them to Readers' Choice Survey, *The Beaver,* 450 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB, R3C 0E7 before 15 October, 1994. Early entries will be eligible for a special book prize draw.

Wilfrid Laurier . William Aberhart . Max Aitkin . Nellie McClung . Sir Frederick Banting . Marius Barbeau . Thomas Bata . Sir Edward Beatty . Jean Beliveau . Grey Owl . Emily Carr . Chief Dan George . Mary Pickford . Maureen Forrester . Henry Birks . Earle Birney . J.S. Woodsworth . Louis-Alexandre Taschereau . E.P. Taylor . Edgar Steacie . Conn Smythe . Clifford Sifton . O.D. Skelton . Joseph Smallwood . Jack Shadbolt . Barbara Ann Scott . Duncan Campbell Scott . Gabrielle Roy . Chester Ronning . Maurice Richard . Jean-Paul Riopelle . Charles Ritchie . E.J. Pratt . Jack Pickersgill . Alfred Pellan . Duff Pattullo . David Croll . Hilda Neatby . Anne Murray . Farley Mowat . Sir William Mulock . Tim Buck . Howie Morenz . W.L. Morton . Dora Mavor Moore . Lucy Maud Montgomery . Arthur Meighen . Vincent Massey . Ernest Manning . Agnes Macphail . Sir Ernest Macmillan . Marshall McLuhan . Norman McLaren . R.S. McLaughlin . Sir Richard McBride . Angus L. Macdonald . Otto Maass . Tom Longboat . Billy Bishop . A.R. M. Lower . Arthur Lismer . Rene Levesque . Paul-Emile Leger . Irving Layton . Stephen Leacock . Margaret Laurence . Ernest Lapointe . Judy Lamarsh . George Drew . Tobias Norris . Leon Koerner . Yousuf Karsh . Edward Johnson . Dorothy Livesay . Gweneth Lloyd . Stanley Knowles . Ferguson Jenkins . A.Y. Jackson . Harold Adams Innis . George Ignatieff . C.D. Howe . Adelaide Hoodless . E. Cora Hind . Sir Frederick William Haultain . Roderick Haig-Brown . Emmett Hall . Samuel Freedman . Frederick Philip Grove . Lionel - Adolphe Grouix . George Grant . Alice Munro . Arch Dale . Hugh Graham Donald Gordon . Glenn Gould . Gratien Gelinas . Jean Gascon . Leslie Frost . Celia Franca . Reginald Fessenden . Sir Arthur Currie . H.D.G. Crerar . Fay Wray . Guy Lombardo . Cy Mack . Ivan Rand . John Arthur Porter . Sir Joseph Pope . Oscar Peterson . Emily Murphy . Wilfrid Pelletier . Teresa Stratas . Vilhjalmur Stefansson . Kate Reid . Frederick Wellington Taylor . John W. Dafoe . Louis Slotin . Tom Thomson . Roy Thomson . Conrad Black . Harold Town . Michel Tremblay . Frank Underhill . Frances Hyland . Roland Michener . Jeanne Sauvé . Georges P. Vanier . Jules Léger . H.R. Macmillan . David Lewis . William Kurelek . A.R. Klein . George Ham . E. Pauline Johnson . Bruce Hutchison . James Lorimer Ilsley . Gordon Howe . Lorne Greene . Christopher Plummer . Kathleen Parlow . Sir John Craig Eaton . Henrietta Louise Edwards . Arthur C. Erickson . Marian Engel . A. Davidson Dunton . Maurice Duplessis . W.A.C. Bennett . Thomas Clement Douglas . Jean Drapeau . Sir Arthur George Doughty . Grant Dexter . Flora Macdonald Denison . John Deutsch . Mazo De La Roche . Clarence Tillenius . Robert McGregor Dawson . William Robertson Davies . Raoul Dandurand . Maurice Cullen . Thomas Crerar . Donald Grant Creighton . Frank Radford Crawley . Douglas Mackay . Lionel Conacher . Nathan Cohen . Brooke Claxton . Francis Michael Clancy . Therese Casgrain . Peter J. Cashin . Bliss Carman . Douglas L. Campbell . Charles Camsell . Patrick Burns . Leonard Brockington . Arthur Roy Brown . Henri Bourassa . Paul-Emile Borduras . Charles Herbert Best . Joseph-Elzeár Bernier . Sir Adam Beck . Margaret Atwood . Louis Applebaum . Andrew Allan . Harry Adaskin . Newton Wesley Rowell . Fanny Rosenfeld . Anna Russell . B.K. Sandwell . Felix-Antoine Savard . Terrance Sawchuk . Francis R. Scott . Hans Selye . Robert W. Service . Ernest Thompson Seton . Gordon Merritt Shrum . Jay Silverheels . Sidney Earle Smith . Charles P. Stacey . Robert Stanfield . Harry Somers .

An Eye for Architecture

Stephen Leacock once described how he came to realize that the old grave among the brambles on his family's farm was *history*. Buildings can be like that, too. I never much imagined that the old walkup apartment building I once lived in in Ottawa was history. Until, that is, I opened Harold Kalman's remarkable new *History of Canadian Architecture* and found a photo of one of its near-neighbours illustrating his discussion of how apartment buildings came to Canadian cities around the turn of the century. By the time I finished Kalman's encyclopedic, 900-page study, it seemed that every building in which we live and work and shop must represent some historical current — and Kalman has something to say about each of them.

The historical significance of buildings has been looming ever larger in recent decades. Government support for all kinds of historic sites — preserved, reconstructed, sometimes even created almost from scratch — has expanded mightily. In almost every city, bands of heritage preservationists have fought to protect fine or characteristic architecture from the wrecker's ball. Simultaneously, political campaigns to preserve older neighbourhoods took fire, not really from historical motives, but because what existed was usually more pleasant and more effective as a community than whatever monstrosity the planners and developers intended. And even if no one is quite sure exactly what post-modern architecture is, it certainly displays greater interest in architectural inheritances than its predecessor did.

But the link between architectural and historical interests is not always easy to sustain. If you can't remember the definition of Romanesque or the seven diagnostic signs of Greek Revival, an eye for historical architecture can seem like an ear for music or a nose for wine: something reserved only for those blessed with the knack.

Hal Kalman certainly has an eye for architecture. Perhaps he inherited it, for his *History* includes a brief mention of his father, Maxwell Kalman, designer of the first shopping centre in Canada, Montreal's Norgate. Kalman himself has been applying that eye to the Canadian scene ever since he returned from studies in architectural history at Princeton University in 1969. For most of that time, he has worked as a consultant on architectural restoration projects. And for some fifteen years, he has also been at work on this book, the first detailed and comprehensive consideration of Canada's architectural history.

Kalman thinks the way to bind history and architecture is through the tradition of architectural history he absorbed at Princeton: thinking about architecture as social history. In Kalman's treatment, architecture is history in steel and brick and wood (and sod, bone, ice, and many another material, too). It is not to be understood by a listing of buildings and their architects or as a catalogue of styles. Instead he links each kind of architecture to, for instance, the social structure of New France, the economics of prairie settlement, and the sociology of the suburbs. To present architecture as an expression of Canadian society, Kalman writes a history of Canada as well as of its buildings.

"I really wrestled with the outline," says Kalman. "I wanted to avoid a simply chronological listing. It is partly thematic, partly regional, partly chronological, and partly, well, eccentric." As a result of Kalman's struggle to give shape to his history, a reader can examine how an architectural historian's history confirms or modifies the frameworks of more "general" histories.

Mostly it confirms. Like many historians of Canada, Kalman has found it convenient to start in the East and move mostly West, as European settlement did. He was unwilling to lump together — and dismiss — all native building styles right at the start, so Micmac wigwams and Iroquoian longhouses come near the beginning, while the Haida plankhouse awaits the end of the first volume and the Thule whalebone shelter is found deep in Volume Two.

Like most histories, Kalman's two volumes break "naturally" around Confederation. Indeed, the way his second volume opens with CPR railway architecture reminded me strongly of Jack Bumsted's insistence, in his 1992 history *The Peoples of Canada*, that the key date is not 1867 and Confederation, but 1885, when the country was really put together. Like many writers of Canadian historical surveys, Kalman finds a region-by-region framework works best up to Confederation, and then shifts to a national treatment, period by period. Architectural history, in fact, seems to confirm that the nation really exists.

Indeed, one of the styles Kalman most enjoyed writing about was what another architectural historian, Alan Cowans, has called the "Canadian National Style." Typified by the Parliament Buildings, the great railway hotels, Toronto's University

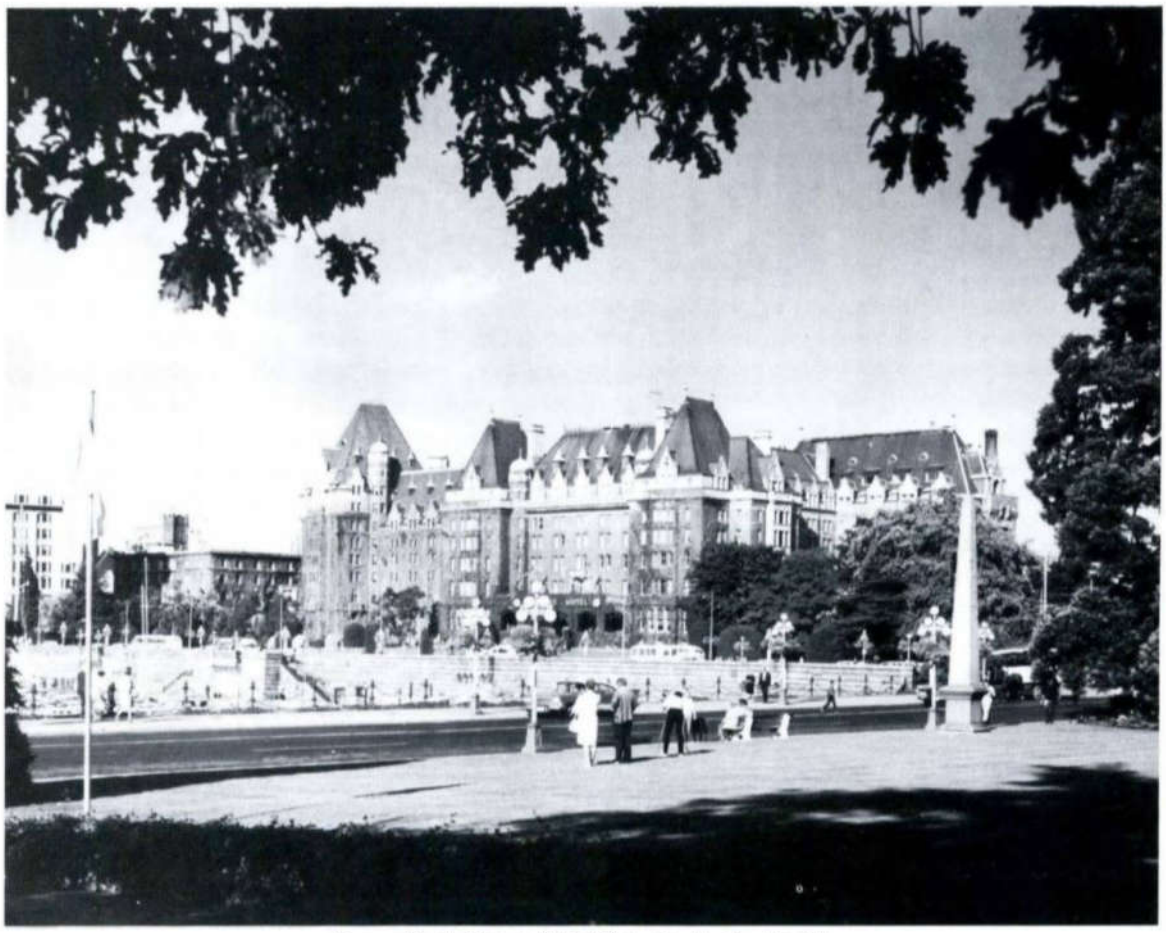
College, and others, the buildings in this style were influential and widely admired. High Victorian groupings like Ottawa's Parliament Buildings are not mere imitations of European models but rather the best of their kind in the world. And in some ways, they are distinctively Canadian.

"There are always conscious and unconscious choices architects make when they create a style," says Kalman. "Consciously they thought a style of high walls and steep roofs was 'northern'. But other elements — a kind of heavy massiveness, and the rough textures, and the dominance of wall over window — these were habits everyone used unconsciously, and that created a pattern. Even an American, Bruce Price [architect of Quebec City's Chateau Frontenac and Montreal's Windsor Station] picks up this Canadian style almost instantly: his American designs are quite different" he notes.

"I don't know why this is, even though it is what I study," says Kalman. "I like the idea of 'family resemblance' — the way the same style, used in Canada and the U.S., is always done slightly differently here from there."

Looking for other examples of national styles in Kalman's account of our architectural history, I was intrigued by, for instance, his comparison of Vancouver's depression-era City Hall and Newfoundland's legislature, the Confederation Building of the late 1950s, both geometrical shapes with clean, vertical lines, executed in concrete. But Kalman thinks regional distinctiveness mostly prevails in architecture as in politics. "I do think we are a confederation of regions. We were in 1867 and we always will be."

As evidence, he uses another favorite style of his (another house type absolutely familiar to me, now raised to the status of history), namely the typical and anonymous bungalow of Kitsilano and many other West Coast neighbourhoods. "In biology, they talk of the twin influences of genetics and environment, nature and nurture. In architecture, it is environment and learned culture. In British Columbia, the environment provided lots of



British Columbia Government Photograph

Empress Hotel, Victoria, British Columbia: "national style".

National Archives of Canada

Osgoode Hall stands at the top of Toronto's York Street in this William Armstrong photograph of 1857.

wood and large timbers to work with. On the other hand, architects have ideas that they learn to be influenced by. These are the polarities: sometimes one predominates, sometimes the other. When they mesh, you really get something. The B.C. bungalow for instance: the material was wood, the idea was an ideology of homes for everyone. Together they produced the bungalow." The idea could be found anywhere, and Kalman considers its impact in Toronto and elsewhere. But without the abundance of material, the idea could not take hold in the same form.

The architectural historian who writes of bungalow rows, sod houses, logging shanties, and fishing tilts as frequently as architects' "signed" designs is clearly no prisoner of a narrow definition of architecture. "I don't like elitist architectural history. No, what I mean is, that is not my style. Some chapters in the book are mostly about 'architecture', but I want to think about buildings too."

Despite his confessed favourites, he insists *The History of Canadian Architecture* is not "the Kalman view of everything. This is not a book of my likes and dislikes." Where Anthony Adamson, a stylish commentator on Canadian architecture, once memorably epitomized the Toronto landmark Osgoode Hall as a beautiful ugly building, Kalman offers a careful — and less judgmental — description of its place in Upper Canadian architectural development. Indeed he describes the whole book as a kind of co-operative project, even though he is the sole author.

"I say it openly in the book: I have really done very little primary research on my own for it. I have used the really good infrastructure of literature on Canadian architecture that has developed in the last twenty years. On almost any building or style I wanted to cover, there is now a good specialist study that I can cite in a footnote, and this book is a synthesis of all that. What I provide is the interpretive framework."

In 1975 Kalman set up shop in Ottawa as "the first fulltime heritage consultant in Canada." In 1988 he moved to Vancouver ("I saw the light, and I'm staying"). Today, with his Ontario-based co-principal, architect John Stewart, he heads Commonwealth Historic Resource Management, which advises on the preservation of buildings as diverse as Toronto's Pantages Theatre, home of *Phantom of the Opera,* and Halifax's recently burned-out St. George's Church, as well as projects as far away as Trinidad. Though he has made a career of preserving old, usually traditional architecture, he says he loved writing the chapter on Modernism — even though one of the signs of Modernism's triumph was the expunging for the architectural curriculum of Kalman's own discipline of architectural history.

Today, architectural history is back, for architects as well as preservationists. "The best postmodernism respects historical context. At its worst of course, it is just a matter of putting party hats on a

building. But good post-modernism is sensitive to the history of the built environment."

Indeed, Kalman sees signs of an alliance between architects touched by post-modern ideas and the architectural conservation movement. "Somehow the architectural preservation movement has never had the impact of the environmental preservation movement. It has never taken over the headlines as Greenpeace has, or Clayoquot Sound. But really I think architectural preservation is the cultural equivalent of the environmental movement — and just as important." Still, most provinces now have architectural heritage laws, and Kalman is impressed by B.C.'s current revisions. "They are not just revising the Heritage Act as Ontario is trying to do. They are tinkering with two dozen different acts, to make them all consistent with heritage ideals. That's heritage moving into the mainstream." *The History of Canadian Architecture* is a long, immensely detailed, and uncompromising study. To describe what seems like every building and style of significance over ten thousand years, Kalman has to resort to architectural terminology. Despite the extensive glossary, the non-architectural eye may be daunted by passages which declare, "The hard-edged geometry and column-like shafts between the recessed windows show the influence of Modern Classicism, while the geometric ornament in the spandrels and on the friezes atop each block are vintage Art Deco, revealing the positive fusion that could be achieved between these two contemporaneous styles." (That's Vancouver City Hall.) Fortunately the book averages more than one photo per page of text, and the illustrations are superbly linked to the writing, so one rarely reads about a building without having a carefully-chosen illustration right at hand. Virtually every reader is sure to feel the shock of recognition, encountering Kalman turning some familiar neighbourhood or building into an architectural discovery.

Even those of us who still feel "architecturally challenged" can appreciate the historical ideas and anecdotes Kalman offers. The power of the environment upon architecture has left him with fresh respect for "the frontier thesis," the old idea that frontier conditions really did produce new societies. So he was delighted to find in Calgary's Glenbow Museum the reminiscences of Sarah Ellen Roberts. She and her family came to Talbot, Alberta, in 1906, determined not to live in a sod house. "They tried everything not to, but they finally did [and, indeed, came to appreciate its warmth]. That's the Canadian mythology: dealing with nature." ◆

"The History of Canadian Architecture" (two volumes, generously illustrated) was published by Oxford University Press this fall at $95.00.

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THE PACKET

Letters, Notes and Opinion

The Fate of Hudson's Church

Readers of my article on St. Ethelburga's (October/November 1993) the little church in the City of London which serves as a memorial to Henry Hudson the Navigator and which was savaged by an IRA bomb blast in April 1993, may be interested in an up-date on the story.

According to material just received from the Parish Clerk, Paul Sutherland, "the greater part of St. Ethelburga's survives ... [and] where it does not, many of the fragments remain and with care could be reassembled." Even an object so seemingly vulnerable as the Tudor communion cup used by Henry Hudson and his crew in 1610 has been saved. The well-known construction firm, McAlpine's, has offered to restore the church for £1.75 million. Individuals and organizations in Britain have made clear their willingness to contribute the funds necessary for the restoration. And it would be a true restoration, not the creation of a replica St. Ethelburga's. As the church has an income of £25,000 a year from a fund bequeathed it by Robert Kitchin, a saddler, in 1557, there need be no fears that St. Ethelburga's could not be maintained once it had been restored.

Now for the bad news. The Diocese of London, in a state of some financial embarrassment owing to unwise investments on the part of the Church Commissioners, wishes to tear down St. Ethelburga's and sell the site for development. The Diocese has a legal right to do this.

Many people feel strongly, however, that the Diocese has no moral right to profit from terrorism by destroying a much-loved symbol of the City of London and of the common heritage of the people of Britain, Canada and the United States of America.

If you agree, here's what you can do. Join the campaign to put pressure on the Diocese of London to permit the restoration of St. Ethelburga's. Write to the Rt. Rev. Dr. David Hope, Bishop of London,

8 Barton Street, London SW1P 3NE. Depending on where you live, you may also think it appropriate to write to your MP.

Support the Friends of St. Ethelburga. Write to Paul Sutherland, the Secretary of the Friends of St. Ethelburga, c/o Gun House, 1-4 Artillery Passage, off Bishopsgate, London, E1 7LJ. Indicate your wish to see the church restored. Say if you plan to attend or at least visit the church. And, if you are able, pledge a donation.

Above all, do not give up the fight. The Church of St. Ethelburga the Virgin has survived the Great Fire and the Blitz; with a little help from its friends it can survive terrorists and property speculators — even property speculators in cassocks.

Anne Morton,
Winnipeg, Manitoba.

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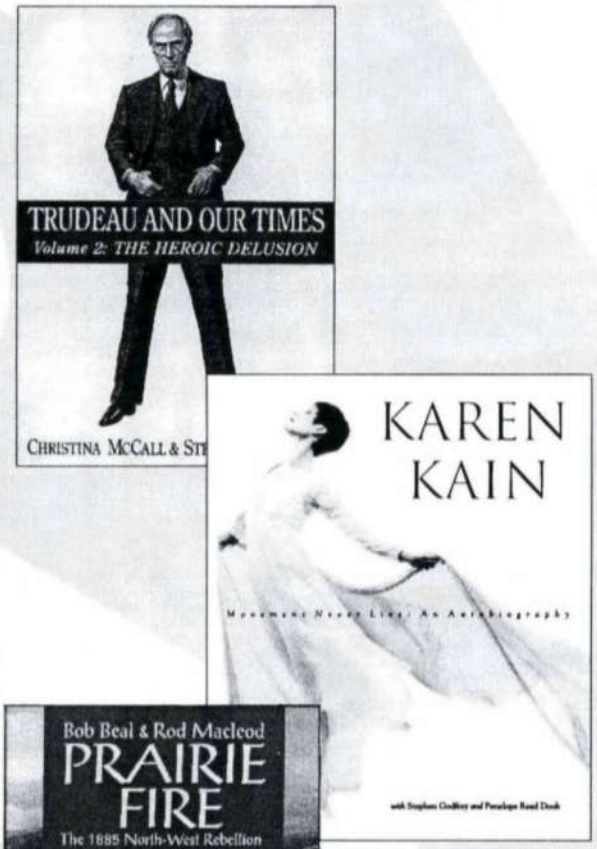

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Rolling Along With the Navy

I hate to have to tell you that your expansion of the initials R.C.N.V.R. is still not quite correct. The N does not stand for Navy, but for Naval. One noun cannot qualify another, and their Lordships of the Board of Admiralty who originated this name with the R.N.V.R. did know the rules of grammar.

But the interesting question is why "Volunteer"? In peacetime both the R.N. and R.C.N. were composed entirely of volunteers, so this appellation was in no way distinctive. Since the R.C.N.V.R. is merely a Canadian adaptation of the R.N.V.R., it is obvious that the answer to this question must be found in Britain. As of 1939 there were two British naval reserve forces, the Royal Naval Reserve (R.N.R.) and the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve (R.N.V.R.). The R.N.R. was recruited exclusively from the officers and men of the merchant navy and the fishing fleet; thus only professional seamen could join it. The R.N.V.R. was open to everyone. In order to distinguish the two reserves from each other, it is obvious that some additional word would be needed in the name of one of them, or even of both. It seems a reasonable guess that the R.N.R. was the older of the two and that its name was left unchanged when the new non-professional reserve was formed. That explains why it was the latter that was given the extra word in its name. But the question still remains; why was "Volunteer" the word chosen for this purpose? In trying to solve this question, it might help to know just when these two reserves were formed. I feel sure they both ante-dated the First World War, but how much further back do they go?

Officers of the R.N.R. were distinguished by yet a third pattern of rank stripe, but as it is somewhat difficult to describe I will not attempt to do so.

Ronald Cantlie,
Calgary, Alberta.

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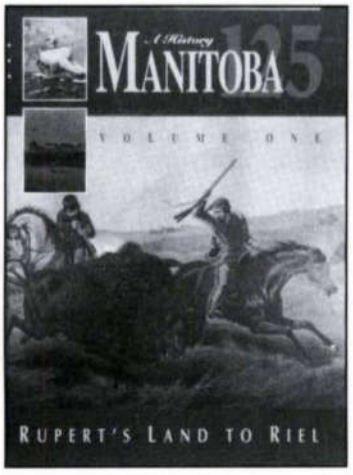

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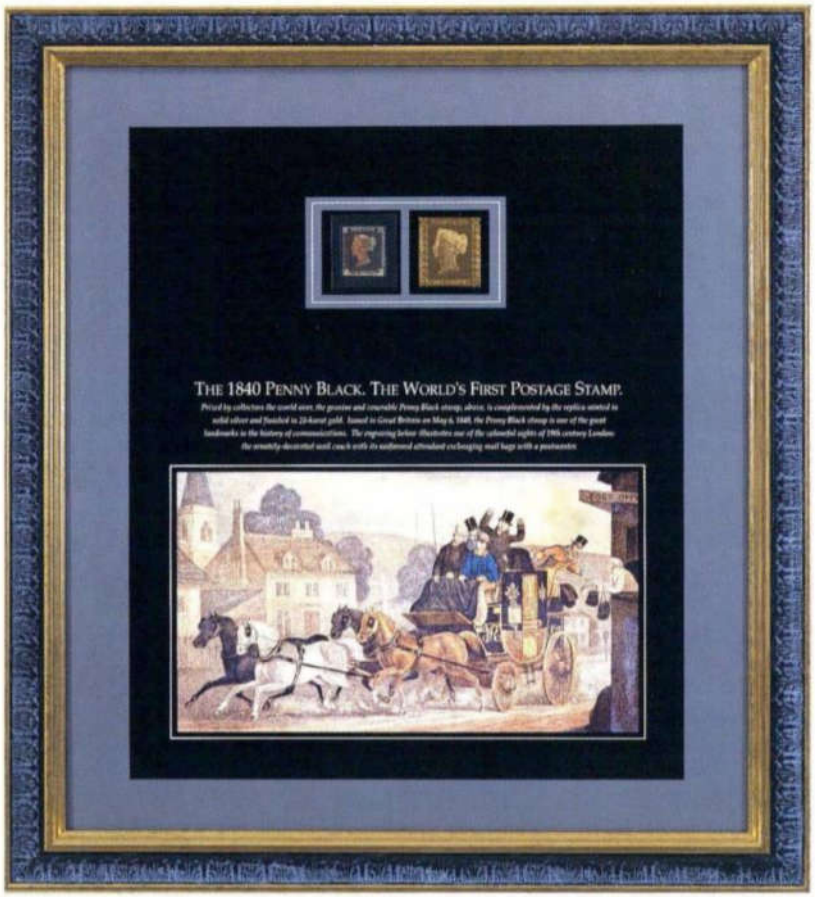

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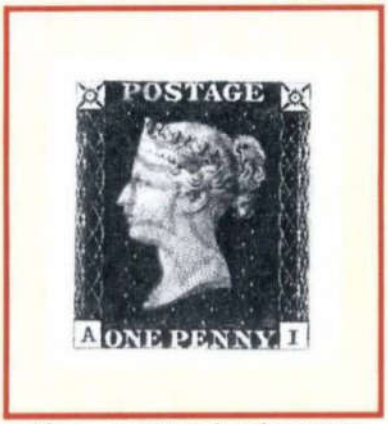

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